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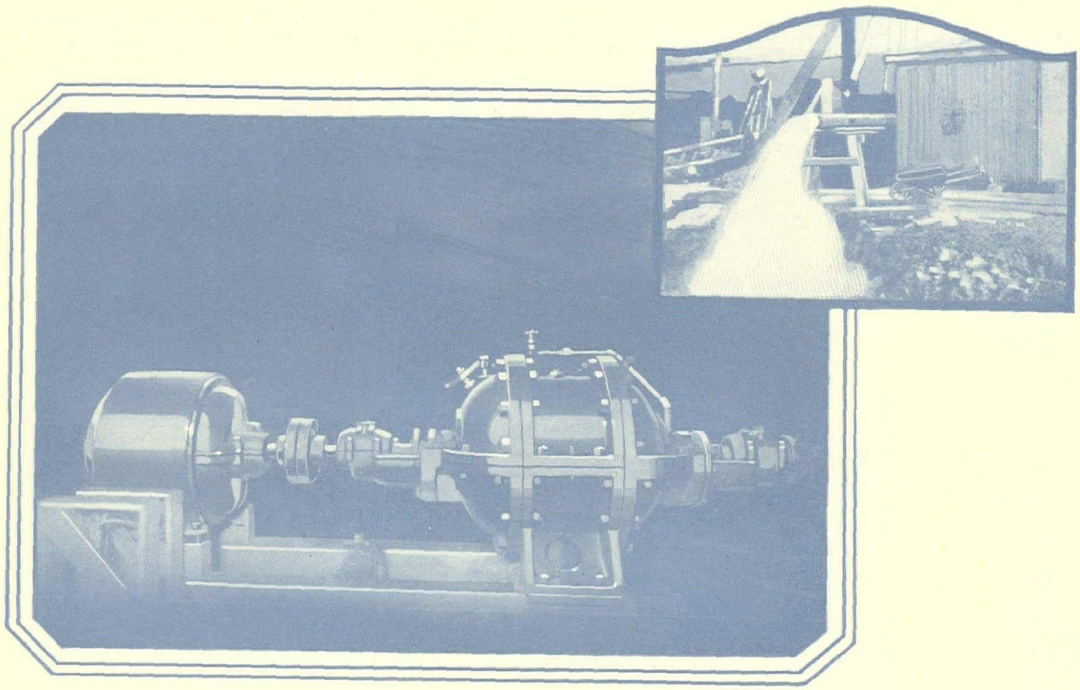

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Monthly

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Twice-a-Month

A journal of social, civic and industrial welfare and the public health. Subscription, including the twelve Graphic numbers

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Vol. L, No. 7 — The Survey: Graphic Number — July 1, 1923

THE cover design for this issue breaks with conventional symbolism in its representation of three forces for human uplift: Aspiration, piercing ever anew the misery and ignorance of mankind with shafts of energy, each broken by the limitations of the flesh before the goal is achieved; Charity, that surveys the surging life of the masses from on high and bends commiseratingly to aid; Love, the supreme light without which Aspiration and Charity and all efforts at reform remain cold and ineffective.

HONORÉ WILLSIE MORROW is the author of half a dozen novels of American life and was for several years editor of The Delineator. As a background for her little sketch on America, she writes, "I have lived in the desert, going months without a roof over my head, enduring heat, sandstorms, and the hardships of the trail. I have lived in mining camps and on dry ranches and in the cattle country North and South. I have lived among Indians, Mexicans, poor white trash, raw foreigners and old New England Anglo-Saxons."

DON D. LESCOHIER is professor of economics at the University of Wisconsin and the author of a book on The Labor Market. In his article for Survey Graphic he gives the meat of an investigation which he made, with a staff of assistants, for the United States Department of Agriculture, to secure comprehensive and first-hand information on labor conditions throughout the wheat belt.

FRANK A. WAUGH is professor of horticulture in the Massachusetts Agricultural College.

FRANK THONE is professor of botany in the North Dakota Agricultural College and, during the summer, lectures for the National Park Service in Yellowstone Park.

MARY SIEGRIST is an essayist and poet who has previously contributed to Survey Graphic.

CONTENTS

THE CONQUERORS . . *Painting by Jonas Lie* 374

WHAT IS AN AMERICAN? *Honoré Willsie Morrow* 375

HANDS AND TOOLS OF THE WHEAT HARVEST . . *Don D. Lescohier* 376

A SPIRITUAL BIOGRAPH . . *Frank A. Waugh* 383

A DEVASTATED VILLAGE . . . *Frank Thone* 386

LET US HAVE DONE WITH WORDS *A Poem* . . . . . *Mary Siegrist* 387

BACKGROUNDS OF THE YOUTH MOVEMENT—*Photographs* 388

FIVE YOUNG EUROPEANS LOOK UPON AMERICA 389

AMERICA OUT OF DOORS—*Paintings* 393

THE CHANGE I FOUND IN IRELAND *Arthur Greenwood* 398

THE LONG LOOK AHEAD . *Edward Eyre Hunt* 400

NEIGHBORS 402

EDITORIALS 405

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GEORGE D. PRATT, Jr., is treasurer and foreign secretary of the National Student Forum. The contributors to the symposium which he introduces are from five different countries: William A. Robson is engaged in the practice of law in England; Antonin R. Palecek has returned to his studies at the University of Prague; Piet Roest is from Holland; Joachim Friedrich from Germany; Jorgen Holck from Denmark.

THE reproductions of paintings were obtained with the help of Peter A. Juley who is not only a great photographer but also a connoisseur of modern art.

ARTHUR GREENWOOD, Labor member of Parliament, acted as secretary for the Labor Commission which reported on the state of Ireland in December, 1920. He was at one time a teacher at Leeds University and took a leading part in building up the government's juvenile labor exchanges.

EDWARD EYRE HUNT is secretary of the President's Conference on Unemployment. He was in Belgium with Hoover and held during the war several important positions in the American Red Cross, for a time being head of its civilian work in the war zone. Since then he has been labor manager for the clothing industry in New York and a member of the Federated American Engineering Societies' Committee on the Elimination of Waste.

THE EDITOR is responsible for a misstatement in Mr. Raushenbush's article in the June Graphic —The Smoldering Problem of Anthracite—with respect to the ten million dollars accruing on one lease of the Girard Estate. The original manuscript did not give the period of time covered; and the words "a year" introduced with a query on the margin of the manuscript inadvertently found their way into print. Mr. Raushenbush points out that the period covered is the life of the lease.

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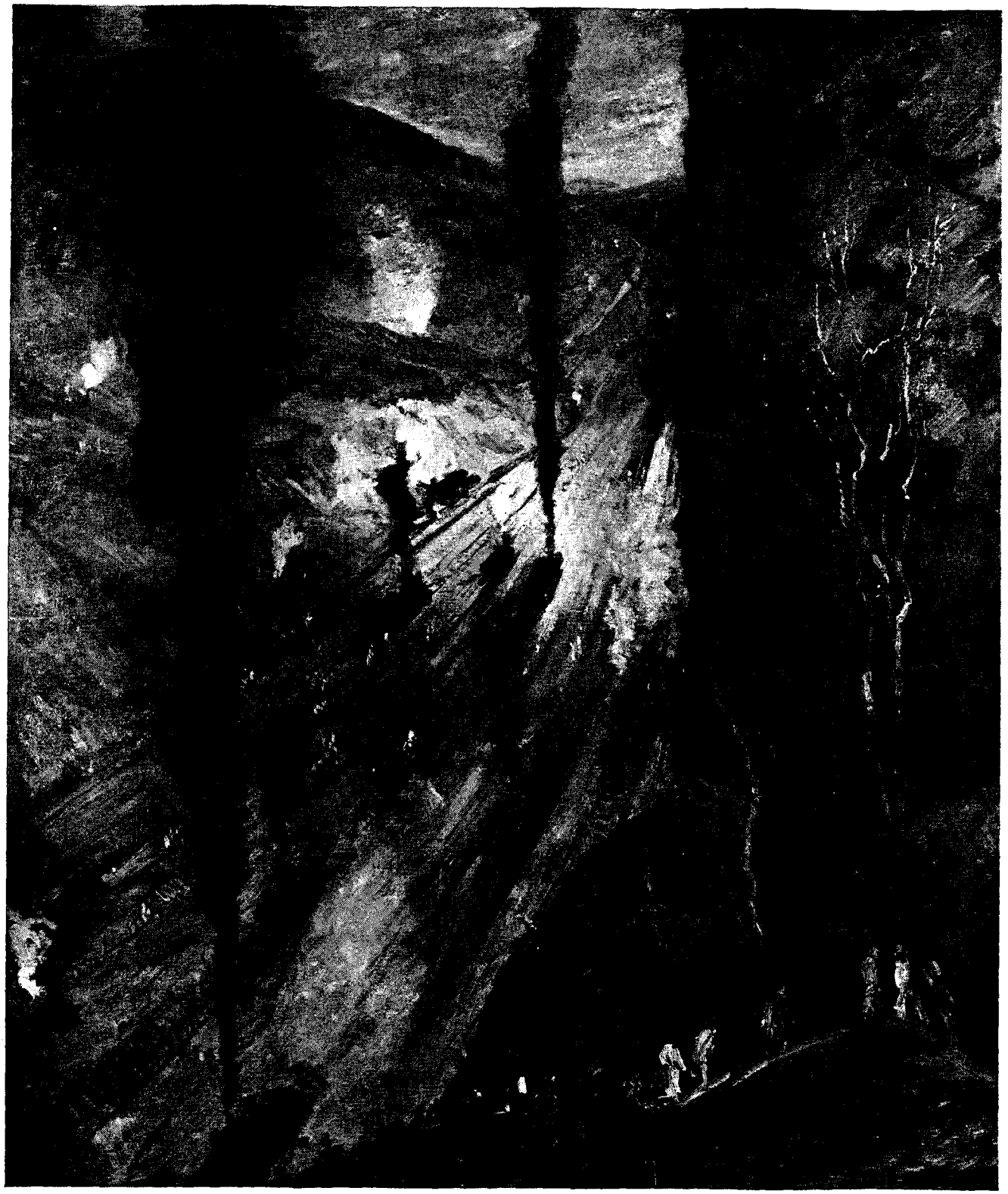
Metropolitan Museum, New York



THE CONQUERORS: CULEBRA CUT, PANAMA CANAL

Painting by Jonas Lie

"... the canal that was built by Americans and opened to the commerce of the world. Perhaps that is to be an American: to do the difficult thing---for the service of the world."

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THE SURVEY
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JULY
1923

Volume L
No. 7

What Is an American?

By HONORÉ WILLSIE MORROW

MY little son said to me, "Mother, we've got to write a composition in school telling what it means to be an American. There's a Chinese boy in my class—I know what a Chinaman is. There's a Dutch boy too, and a boy from Scotland. But how can I put it down so you could tell an American?"

For a moment I was lost entirely. But chance helped me. It was in war time and there was an English magazine lying on the table. The cover showed a charming picture of English countryside. The cover caption read, "What are we fighting for? England! Home! And Beauty!"

I turned to my little son. "Ricky, when our soldiers over in the trenches hear the word America, I suppose some picture of the place they know best, here, flashes before their eyes. And to belong to that spot, is, I suppose, being an American to them."

The child nodded. "What do you see, mother, when they say America to you?"

I hesitated. It's a goodish-sized continent, this land of ours! Then I began carefully, for I thought perhaps the little boy could help me as much as I could help him.

"I see a mountain in Vermont where one may stand and look across Lake Champlain to seven lavender ranges that melt into a pale blue sky. At the foot of this mountain is a graveyard. And in that graveyard sleep men and women who sacrificed all that they had that this nation might be born. Surely that spot is America, and those people are Americans.

"I see, too, a mighty bluff that pushes into the upper flow of the Mississippi, and from the top of that bluff one beholds a valley where all the wheat in the world seems to be growing. Great freight boats thread up and down the river, long freight trains weave in and out of the valley. One wonders if it is not the mission of America to feed the world! Perhaps to be an American is to be a producer.

"There is a mountainside near Seattle where one may stand among ferns waist high and look out mightily upon the Pacific Ocean. And one sees steamers going south to California and north to Alaska. To Alaska, where some of the most superb pioneering the world has known is being done by Americans, just as it was done in the days of the Oregon Trail. Perhaps that is to be an American. To be a pioneer.

"Down in New Mexico is a vast spine of the Rocky Mountains, deep purple, set in the midst of a burning orange desert. Standing on this spine one sees a dark brown crack running across the desert. This is the Rio Grande. And moving about one spot in the Rio Grande tiny black dots. These are men, Americans. They are, with infinite travail, throwing a dam across the river. When it is finished, a hundred thousand acres of sand will be turned from sterility and held for such pioneers as have the vision and the strength to make this reclaimed land to blossom like the rose. Perhaps that is to be an American, to make new trails and open them to humanity.

"There is a tiny hillock in Florida from which one looks out over a spit of palm-fringed sand stretching into a sky-blue sea. Beyond the silhouette of palms, ships glide south toward the Panama Canal—the canal that was built by Americans and opened to the commerce of the world. Perhaps that is to be an American: to do the difficult thing—for the service of the world—and for no personal reward save honor."

My little son looked up at me, interested but with puzzled eyes. "It's too long, mother," he said, wistfully.

"O, my dear!" I exclaimed half in despair. "I know it's too long! But—perhaps we are too young a nation to have defined ourselves. Perhaps it will be many generations before there will rise up one with the concrete vision of what we may be, one who will give us one clear star to follow. And perhaps that will not be until, long, long from now, the very dust that idle winds blow in our faces is the dust of loved ones who have died. Perhaps we shall not really know or really love America until the nation is so old that we are in very truth bone of her bone and flesh of her flesh. Until our graveyards have been forgotten and renewed again and again and yet again."

"That would be too sad to be an American then," said Ricky. "I guess I'd better make my own composition."

I nodded, and he went away.

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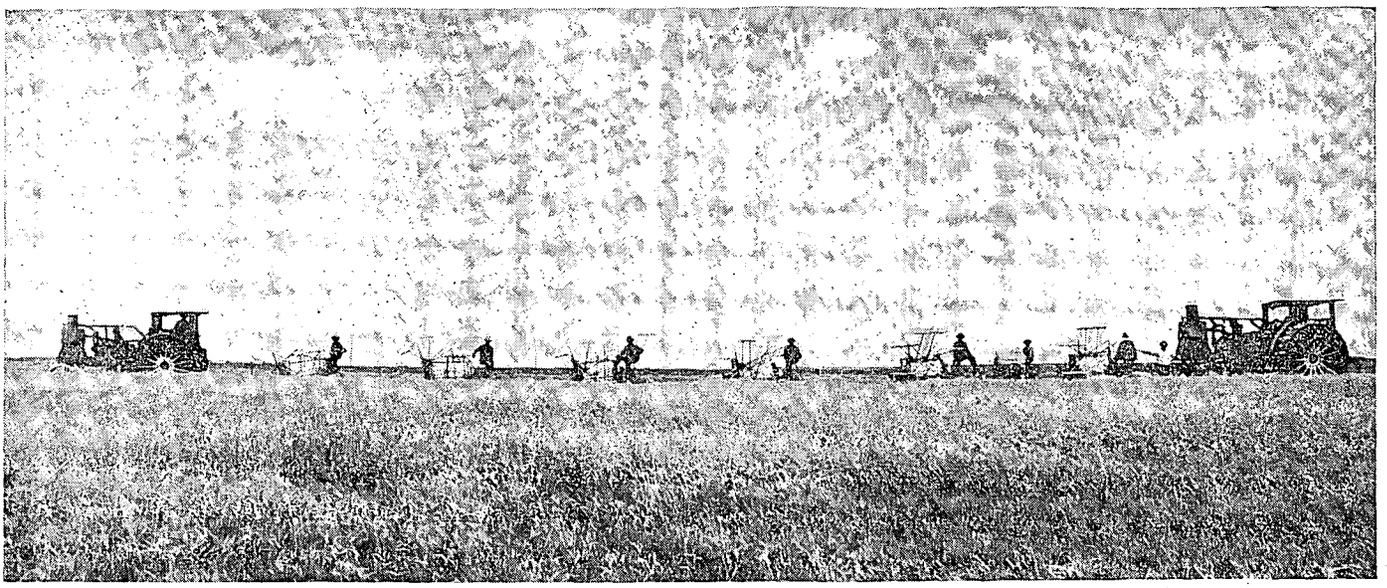

Hands and Tools of

I. July in the Southwest

"THERE they come, Harry." "Yes, they're coming, all right. There must be five hundred of them! Came in on the Rock Island and the Wichita Interurban and are hiking across to the Santa Fe. Must be headed for the Great Bend country." We were standing on the main street of Hutchinson, Kansas—Harry Allen and I, watching the harvest army as it passed through Hutchinson on its way westward. Under a cloudless sky, the hot sunshine of the twenty-fourth of June was bringing millions of acres of Kansas wheat into swift ripeness, and the harvesters were pouring into southern Kansas by passenger trains, freights and automobiles. Allen, who had tended camp for buffalo hunters on the western plains as a boy and watched the wheat turn golden on the midwestern plains since his childhood, was field representative of the United States Employment Service. He was on "scouting duty," measuring the potentialities of those advancing harvesters against the immediate labor needs of the Kansas harvest. "Enough," he said, "enough. Two thousand men will pass through here in these forty-eight hours. Pawnee and Hodgeman Counties are safe."

"They're not hoboes, either, Harry. Look at their stride." "No, those are the boys from Missouri, Arkansas and Oklahoma. They come through here every year, by way of Enid and Wichita." And fine boys they were, straight, strong and bronzed; with a spring in their stride and a laugh on their lips. Clad in clean overalls, some carrying bundles or suitcases, but hundreds with only their working clothes on their backs, the boys of the Southwest were coming to the harvest.

A fifth of them were less than twenty-one years of age, and as many over forty. The majority were between twenty-one and forty. Here and there I saw hair touched with silver. Three-fourths of them were single. One in six had a family dependent on him. One in twenty contributed to the support of his mother or other relatives. Sixty per cent of them had come on the freights, half of them with partners. But they were not migratory laborers. Ninety out of each hundred had a definite place of residence. They were men of regular occupations, citizens of the states east of the winter wheat.

The spirit of the harvest was upon them. Hope and comradeship dominated them. In twos and threes and half-dozens they came; farmers, mechanics, factory hands, oil field workers and laborers, with a sprinkling of students and office men. Differences were forgotten. Ten million acres of golden grain were calling, and each was asking, "Where do I begin?" A mighty task had merged the streams of their diverse lives. The thrill of big events was upon them. The commonplace conversa-

Brothers

TWENTY years had passed since Ernest Coffey left his home at Edina, Missouri, to seek his fortune in California. For a time letters kept him in touch with the old home. They became infrequent, and then stopped. A veil of silence intervened. Drifting about the far west as a migratory laborer, he followed chance hither and yon. In 1921, out of work, he headed for the Kansas harvest and arrived in Wichita on the twenty-sixth of June. Conversing casually with another harvester, exchanging anecdotes of other days, he mentioned Edina. The stranger said that the day before he had met "another homeless man from that town," and the two went in search of him. After several minutes' conversation, Coffey discovered the new acquaintance from the old town was his older brother Ray, who in 1917 left the home farm for the El Dorado oil fields and thereby followed Ernest into the ranks of the migratory seasonal laborer.

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the Wheat Harvest

By DON D. LESCOHIER

tion of the job—"How is the crop at Larned?" "How many men have gone to Great Bend?" "I hear they need men at Kinsley." "I made $200 last year near Jetmore"—became dramatic on the lips of a multitude. Each was conscious that he was one of ten thousands pouring into and out of the towns of Kansas; moving up through Texas, Wyoming, Arkansas, and Oklahoma; coming across the plains of Illinois, and drifting southwest from Omaha and Sioux City. Here and there knots of men were earnestly discussing where they would "hit for first." Others were making inquiries at depots and employment offices concerning crop conditions in different countries or eagerly scouring the federal harvest bulletins or local newspapers. New acquaintances were exchanging histories and ambitions. Each was eager with the hope of "making a stake."

The writer, with five assistants, was studying the labor aspects of the wheat harvest for the United States Department of Agriculture. The investigation covered two entire harvests and extended over a territory 150 miles wide, from Fort Worth, Texas, to Canada. Studies were made both among the farmers and the harvest hands. Two automobiles were used to visit the farms. Starting from Wichita with one car we worked south into northern Oklahoma and, when westward progress across Oklahoma was stopped by swollen rivers, turned northward into central Kansas. A winding trail that traversed seventeen of the most important wheat counties of Kansas, brought us to Colby, in the extreme northwestern corner of the state, whence we crossed into southwestern Nebraska and turned eastward. A few days' work across southern Nebraska, and we were at Grand Island, west of Lincoln, where our plans called for a swift drive of six hundred miles to northern South Dakota, the intervening territory not being wheat country.

During August this car covered the central Dakotas, working northward from Aberdeen through Jamestown and Devil's Lake to the Canadian boundary and then east. Meanwhile, the other car, which began work at Lincoln, had covered eastern Nebraska and the eastern third of South Dakota, and proceeded into eastern North Dakota and western Minnesota, the famous Red River Valley.

Each morning we threw our suitcases into the cars and started another stage in a carefully planned journey, both cars covering their territories on a schedule that no weather or mishap was permitted to interrupt. Throughout the day, and often far into the evening, we visited farms, stopping at every farm along the road, whether large or small, prosperous or run-down. Driving down the lanes and across the wheat stubble to the headers or binders busy in the fields; often climbing on the machines and interviewing the farmers while the knives laid low the grain; we listened to the story of the harvest

A Rolling Stone

AT fourteen years of age he was on a ranch in Oklahoma. At seventeen he graduated into railroad and construction camps. At nineteen he was drifting from sawmill to sawmill in Oklahoma, working about two weeks in a place, and accompanied by "an old rounder" with whom he "blew in" all that he had previously saved. Then, in the spring he went up to Iowa and visited relatives on an Iowa farm for three months. He spent the summer laying tile on contract in Iowa. Years of drifting from occupation to occupation culminated in marriage and the purchase of a restaurant in a Kansas town. He sold out in three months and took a position on the police force in the same town. That was in 1906. Then he was divorced from his wife and took to migratory labor again. In recent years he has regularly made the harvest, spending most of the balance of the year in commercial fishing in the Arkansas, Canadian (in Oklahoma) and Red rivers.

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as the farmer experiences it. Then as night came on, we sped on thirty, fifty, sixty miles to the next day's territory.

At the same time, other members of the staff were interviewing harvest hands at the public employment offices, on the streets and around the railroad yards of wheat towns, in the jungles of the hoboes, and on the trains. They heard the story of the harvest as the harvest worker knows it. When the study was finished, detailed information was available about the harvest work on 1,300 representative farms, ranging in size from 80 acres to 110,000 acres; the operation of 115 threshing crews which threshed over 800 farms; and the personal experiences of 3,600 harvest hands. This information was supplemented by data concerning approximately 29,000 other harvest hands, collected by the United States Employment Service in 1920 and 1921.

HARVEST HANDS
WANTED!
AT
GREENSBURG KANS.
300 miles southwest of Kansas City on Rock Island
1,000 Men Needed Immediately
All headed grain. Only men expereienced in farm work and handling teams advised to come. Cannot use colored. Begins
June 20, 21, 22 and 23
Lasts two to three weeks. Threshing follows immediately. Good men can get work all fall.
Wages will be $4.00 $5.00 and $6.00 per day and board. Come quick. Jobs waiting.

THE wheat belt divides naturally into two distinct sections; the winter wheat where the grain is planted in the fall, and which includes Oklahoma, Kansas, Missouri, and much of Nebraska; and the spring wheat section, which includes northern Nebraska, the Dakotas, Minnesota, Montana and the Canadian prairie provinces.

In both sections, the demand for harvest labor is ordinarily intense while it lasts, but uncertain and fluctuating. It is intense because the wheat belt cannot provide from its own population more than two-thirds of the labor needed for the harvest. Wheat is grown in areas of low population density, where one finds typically from five to twenty persons per square mile, rarely more than twenty-five. The average size of the farms visited was 460 acres, which permits 1.4 families per square mile. Wheat farms require, on the average, twice as much labor during the harvest as during the balance of the year. Kansas City, St. Joseph, Omaha, and the other cities scattered through the eastern portion of the wheat states can but partly meet these requirements. Transient harvest help is therefore indispensable.

At the same time, though the wheat farmers must have extra labor for the harvest, each farmer needs help for but a very short time. Ordinarily, wheat farms of 480 acres finish harvesting in from eight to fourteen days. A majority of the 640 acre farms are through in fourteen to sixteen days, and three weeks generally sees the work done on farms of 880 acres. The duration of the harvest on larger farms does not increase with the size of the farm. Two thousand or four thousand acres are finished as quickly as eight hundred. Nature allows only three or four weeks for the harvest. The larger farmer must have an adequate equipment of machinery, horses and men to finish in that time. If the harvest is not completed in time, the over-ripe grain "shatters" from the heads and is lost. Experiments conducted by the Kansas Agricultural College show that the maximum number of bushels per acre is obtained when the harvesting is completed within two weeks. Sometimes hot weather cuts the maximum period possible for the harvest to two weeks. Consequently, the farmer's demands for harvest labor are very intense while they last but they don't last long in any particular locality.

On thousands of farms the harvesters cannot obtain more than a week's work. Farmers who cut grain with binders often do the bulk of the work themselves and hire harvest hands for only a few days to help "set up" the bundles in "shocks." The smaller farmers, whether they use binders (which cut the grain near the ground and tie it into bundles) or headers (which cut the heads off the grain, leaving the straw standing in the field), generally complete their harvests in about a week. Labor turnover among harvest crews also creates demands for men for two, six, or eight days' work. Local men and the earlier arrivals get most of the jobs, which last two or three weeks and perhaps result in an engagement to stay for thrashing, while the rest of the transient harvesters get the short-time jobs of the peak of the harvest. I have talked with experienced harvesters who have obtained during a harvest as many as ten jobs, not one of which lasted over four days.

As the harvest moves northward, it starts in each county on a few farms on which the grain ripens early. Within a few days the local harvest rapidly develops maximum activity. There is a heavy demand for labor during this crescendo. The farms get their crews, and the demand for labor then slackens. The harvest is at its peak, but the calls for men have passed their peak. The farms which started first begin to finish and lay off their men. The relative supply of labor in the local market increases; the demand for men falls off. Harvesters begin to leave and move northward. They must "catch up with the harvest." This generally means a jump of a hundred miles or more, since the adjacent territory is nearly as far advanced as the locality which the men are leaving. Most of the men make the mistake of not jumping far enough. They stop in counties where the principal demands for labor are already satisfied and only short jobs or jobs at a low wage are left. Frequently the money they earned in their first jobs is dissipated before they get others. Relatively few harvesters

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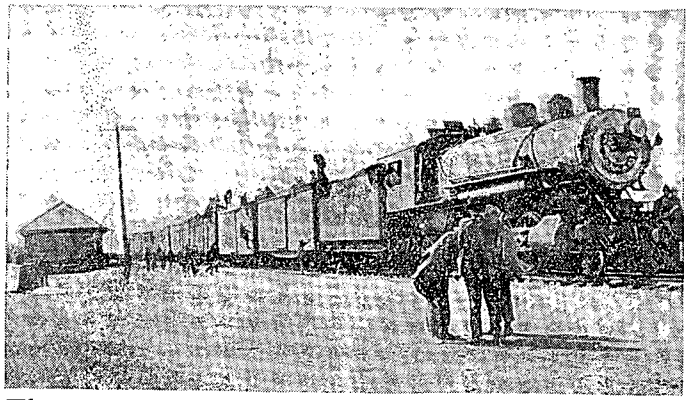
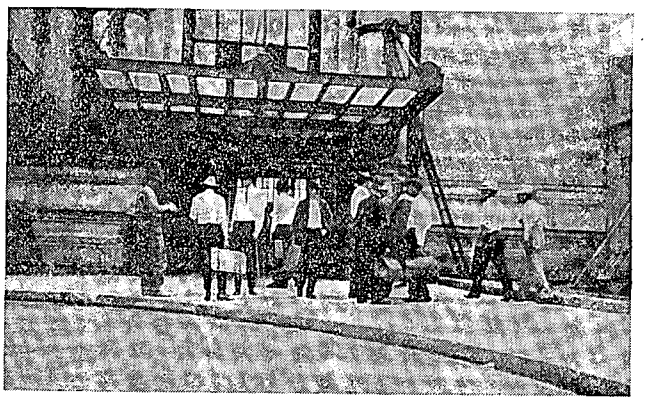


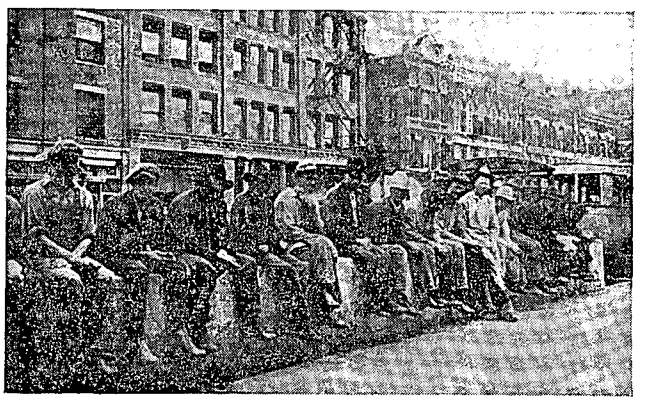
The call for "Harvest Hands" brings thousands of men into the Kansas wheat belt in July, in automobiles, in passenger trains, or more often riding the freights

make good "stakes" during the harvest. The only ones who do are those who happen to obtain steady work. The majority lose too much time between a succession of short jobs to come out of the harvest with much money. Travel and hotel bills eat up their earnings. Eleven hundred men interviewed on this point had had work but 51 per cent of the time that they were in the wheat area. Some of them had "made a stake"; most of them had not.

The expansion and contraction of demand which obtains on the individual farm and in each local area is equally characteristic of the wheat belt as a whole. The harvest consists of two distinct but connected episodes. Beginning on a small scale in Texas in early June, the southern (winter wheat) demand for labor expands to large volume by the last week in June, when Texas, Oklahoma, and southeastern Kansas are at work, and reaches its maximum in Kansas about the middle of July. The winter wheat demand then gradually tapers off as the center of the harvest passes into southeastern Nebraska, shrinking to almost nothing before the end of July. Beginning about the middle of July on the eastern border of Nebraska, the demand for labor for harvesting the spring wheat now gradually expands as the harvest goes northward across South Dakota, to reach its maximum by the middle of August in North Dakota, after which it declines rapidly. The largest numbers of men are employed in the northern harvest during the first three weeks of August.



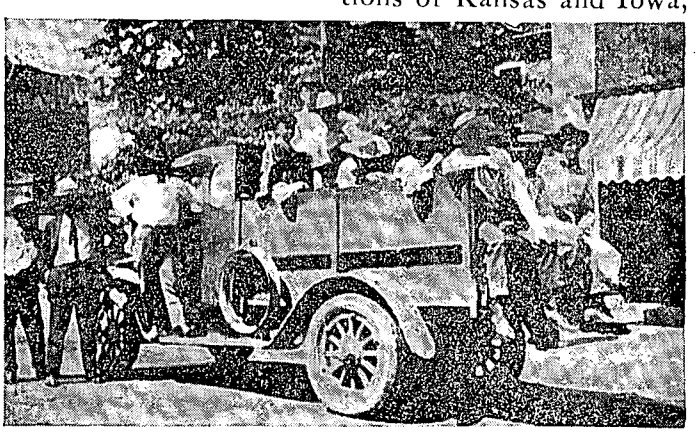
Harvesters who travel by ticket and carry suitcases take the job seriously. These farmers are getting their pick



Part of the overall brigade of harvesters, lined up along the viaduct at Wichita, waiting to be hired

"How many men does the wheat harvest require, anyhow?" "Not nearly as many as most people think." More than one-fourth of 1,290 farms visited by our field party in 1921 hired no labor that year. The entire 1,290 farms, which harvested 264,000 acres of wheat, hired only one-half as much harvest labor as Kansas agricultural authorities estimated would be necessary for that acreage. A bulletin of the Kansas Agricultural College states that "where there is a normal shortage of help, every additional fifty acres will require one additional man." These 1,290 farms actually hired but one extra man for each hundred acres. Texas never needs labor from outside the state for its wheat; Oklahoma is very nearly independent of outside labor. Her effective demand for transient harvesters never exceeds 10,000 extra men. I doubt if it ever reaches that figure. Eastern Kansas hires little transient labor. Central and western Kansas ordinarily use 20,000 to 30,000 men. As a rule these are not all needed at one time, and many of the men "count for two" by working in southern and later in northern Kansas. Some obtain several Kansas jobs. There is some overlap in the harvests of Oklahoma and Kansas, and later of Nebraska and Kansas, but the maximum number of transient harvesters employed at any one time in the winter wheat harvest does not often exceed 35,000 men.

At the end of the Kansas harvest, the majority of the winter wheat harvesters do not go north. They either wait in Kansas for thrashing to begin, return to their homes, move into the corn growing sections of Kansas and Iowa,



The lucky farmer (second from the left) takes a truckload of incoming harvest hands back from the city with him

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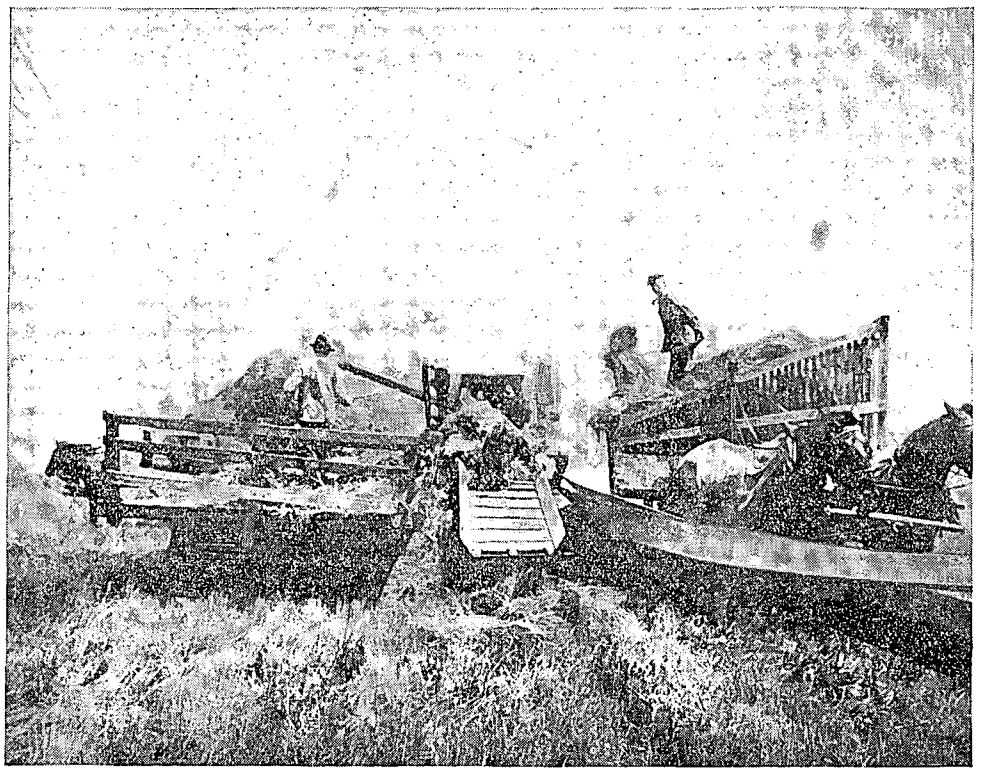


A THRESHING MACHINE AT WORK

The wagon at the right is the famous Kansas "header barge," one side built low to handle the grain more easily. The separator is driven by a straw-burning engine. The man at the right is a mechanic "making the harvest" for a change

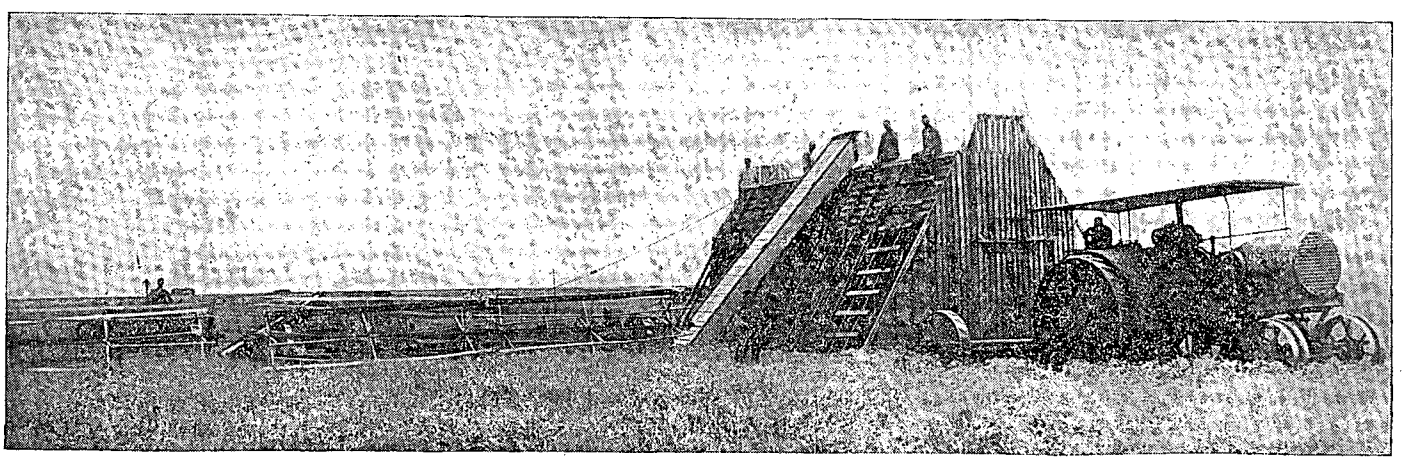
go to the cotton belt, or seek employment in the cities.

Most of the men in the Dakota harvest are men who did not work in Kansas. Greater crop diversification, less even ripening of the grain, and the fact that the binder can cut grain that is not dead-ripe prevents the Dakota farmers from being as dependent on outside harvest help as the Kansans. The total number of men used is at least 10,000 below the Kansas figures. Probably, first and last, more than 100,000 individuals find work in the wheat harvest.

But it is only the continual inflow and outflow of men from the harvest areas that make it possible for such large numbers to find employment.

More than three-fourths of the men who migrate into the wheat belt for the harvest come from the Mississippi Valley. Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky and Tennessee mark the eastern border of the important sources of supply. More than one-half of 32,000 harvesters questioned about their places of residence in 1920 and 1921 lived in Iowa, Illinois, Missouri, Arkansas, Kansas and Oklahoma. Montana and Colorado are the only states west of the wheat belt that ever furnish material assistance. When crops are poor or mining slack in Montana thousands of farmers or miners come into the Dakota harvest. In 1918 over 4,000 Montana farmers whose crops were "burned out" by drouth worked in the western section of North Dakota. Denver occasionally furnishes a trainload of men to relieve a labor shortage in the western sections of Kansas or Nebraska.

Throughout the harvest area one meets scattered individuals or small groups of men from every state in the union, as well as Canada and Mexico. But if no harvest hands came from the states east of Ohio or west of Denver, the harvest would not be appreciably affected. The supply that counts is the supply that comes from the Mississippi Valley. The stragglers from the outside add more to the picturesqueness of the harvest than to its economic efficiency.



THE INTRICATE STACKER BARGE

The three headers at the left cut the grain and pass it along to the elevator which carries it up into the stacker barge, a wagon so constructed that the heads piled into it form a stack. When the barge is full, the rear end is opened and the wagon drawn out, leaving a stack of grain in the field. This barge is just preparing to unload its stack. The big tractor pulls the two inside headers as well as the barge

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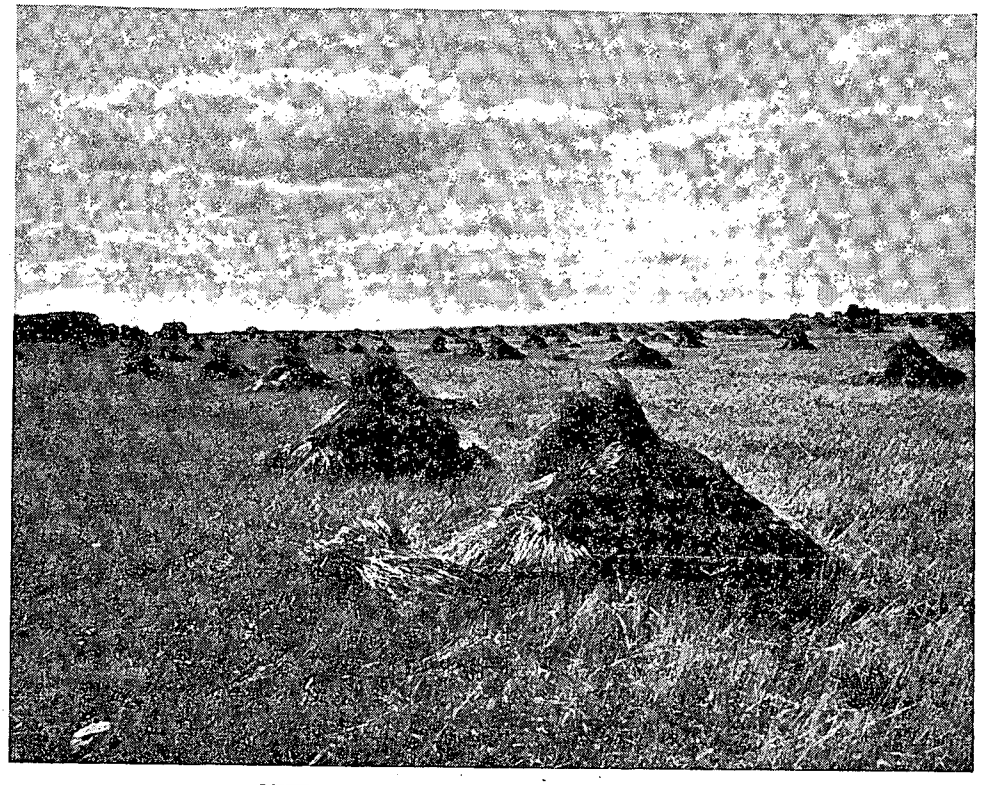
THE motives which bring the harvest hands to the wheat fields are as varied as human life. One finds in the fields farmers whose crops have been ruined or impaired by hail, drought, storm or fire; some who have not enough land under cultivation to afford them a livelihood and others who are seeking new locations; students and young men who are looking for experience, a vacation, a chance to see the world; prodigal sons trying to earn enough money to return to their homes; soldiers and sailors who developed a thirst for roaming while in the army and navy; and men attracted by the lure of the great out-of-doors or the pleasure of harvesting.

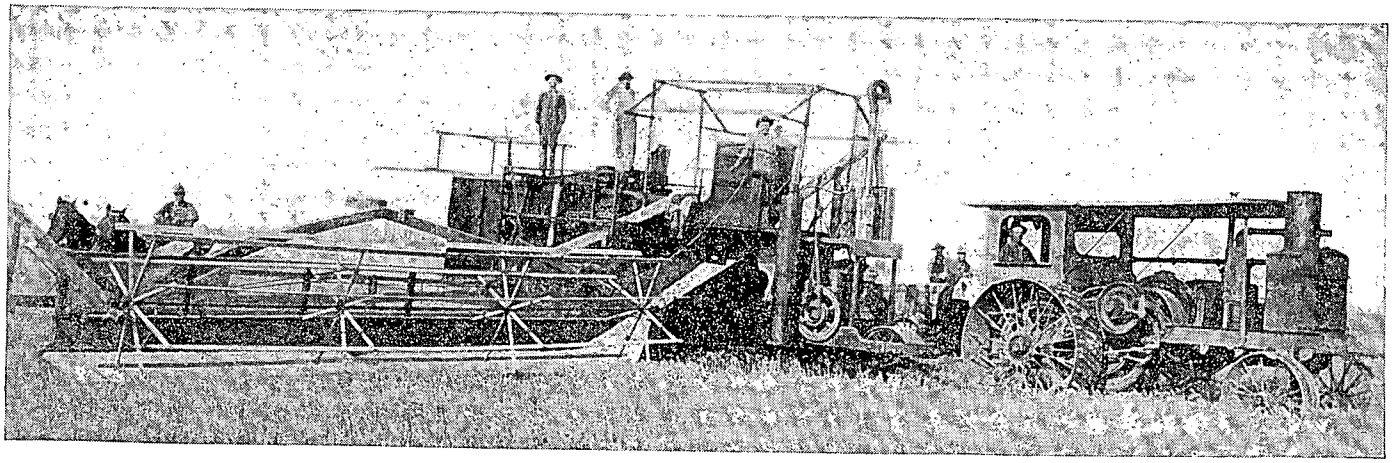


THE POETRY OF KANSAS HARVEST

The farmhouse in the distance broods peacefully over its fields— "as mysterious and moody as the sea in their loveliness." "Yet," says William Allen White, "we graze them and plow them and mark them with roads and do not see them"

The desire for adventure and experience brings thousands. The grain harvest is one of the big adventures of American industrial life. The frontier and the Indians have been conquered, the lands of the West have been put under the plow, the secret resting places of gold and silver have been explored and exploited, and the harvest mobilization now constitutes for wage-earners the most dramatic, adventurous event in our annual economic cycle. From every state in the union men of more than a hundred different occupations come to rub elbows for a few days or weeks in the garnering of millions of bushels of grain over a territory adequate for an empire, and then vanish one by one back into the everyday walks of life. The quiet pursuits of agriculture become dramatic. Imaginations are fired; the glamour and lure of adventure prevail over the humdrum of life. Of the many incentives which cause the thousands of men to come to the small grain harvest, three stand out prominently: (1) lack of other employment; (2) the hope of making "big money"; and (3) the desire for adventure and experience.

The customary occupations of 32,000 harvest hands are shown on the chart at the end of this article. Many of the agricultural workers came from the small farms in the hills of Missouri and Arkansas, or scattered through northern Texas and Oklahoma, which cannot provide adequate support for a family. Farmers and their sons flock from these farms to each harvest. At Wichita, I met a



A HEADER AND THRESHER COMBINED

One of the latest developments in harvesting machinery. The header at the left cuts the grain and lifts the heads into the center of the machine where they are threshed and the chaff is thrown out to the rear. The two men behind the tractor are standing in the grain wagon which receives the threshed grain and takes it to the elevator. This is one of the largest types of combine; smaller ones, requiring only three or four men, can cut and thresh thirty acres a day

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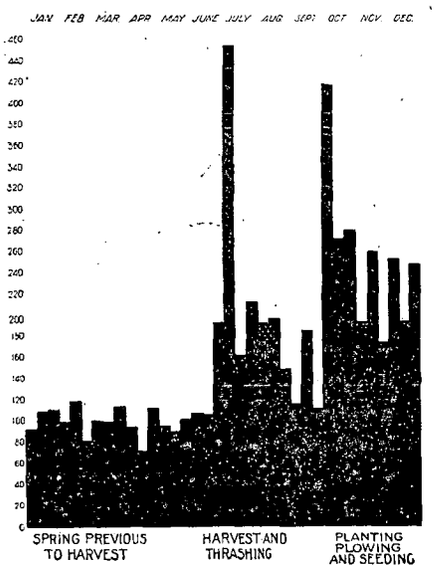
group of twenty-four such Arkansas farmers, neighbors. Frequently we encountered groups of four or six, making the harvest in a Ford. Some of these farmers have made the harvest "as a cash crop" for more than twenty consecutive years. It is a part of their farming system. There are also thousands of farms in Missouri, Arkansas, Iowa, and eastern Kansas which finish their harvests before the Kansas harvest opens, and set free a part of their labor for Kansas. The farmers and farm hands from these neighboring states are the backbone of the Kansas harvest, so far as transient labor is concerned. Skilled, hardened, ambitious to earn, and with a farmer's point of view toward harvest work, they are eagerly sought by the Kansans. I met two lads at Larned who were typical. They were Missouri farm boys, neighbors, and were making the harvest for the fifth consecutive time. Each year they come early in June and work in the binder harvest of eastern Kansas. When this is finished they go west to the header harvest of Pawnee county; then back to eastern Kansas for the threshing there and finally return to Pawnee again for header threshing. They get in two months of steady work in Kansas, with a minimum of traveling, and return to their homes with $250 to $350.

The laborers who constitute about a third of the harvest army are a varied assortment. They are principally seasonal laborers engaged in railroad extra-gang work and public road construction, the building industries, swamping in the woods, dish-washing in restaurants and trucking and other common labor around factories and warehouses. They are men of no particular occupation though many of them have from three to eight kinds of work in which they ordinarily seek employment. Harvesting is for these laborers, regularly or intermittently, a part of their annual work cycle.

The mechanics and factory workers represented a wide variety of occupations. Among 14,133 harvest hands interviewed in 1921, there were 808 skilled mechanics belonging to eight of the building trades; 251 of them carpenters, 166 electricians, 141 painters, 115 plumbers, and 76 structural iron workers. The factory and shop workers included 1,994 men of over sixty skilled and semi-skilled occupations of such diverse types as auto-mechanics (477), bakers and cooks (1,321), stationary firemen (150), machinists (531), molders (102), and smaller numbers of shoemakers, tailors, lace makers, textile operatives, lithographers. There were 659 skilled workmen who belonged neither to construction nor factory occupations. These included 185 railroad trainmen, 251 miners and 93 sailors, besides linemen, piano tuners, aviators, wireless operators and others.

There was a distinctly larger proportion of mechanics and factory workers in the 1921 harvest than during previous years. City workers were driven to the harvest in considerable numbers by unemployment. Many of them rode the freights for the first time in their lives. A farmer in southern Kansas picked up three men at Alva, Oklahoma, and six men at Kiowa, Kansas, about twenty miles away. All of them came in on freights. And this was what he obtained: A glass-blower, an embalmer, a carpenter, a millwright, a mason, a bookbinder, a painter, a miner and an I. W. W. organizer—every one a union man. The farmer's family found the I. W. W. organizer "interesting"; the crew used him to quarrel with. The farmer said they were "real men; willing workers, a good crew, even though somewhat ignorant of harvesting." The entire crew stayed through the harvest on this farm, though they lost ten days out of twenty-four because of rains.


JAN FEB MAR APR MAY JUNE JULY AUG SEP OCT NOV DEC
SPRING PREVIOUS TO HARVEST
HARVEST AND THRASHING
PLANTING PLOWING AND SEEDING

Distribution of labor on a wheat farm in MacPherson County, Kansas, 1920

A Missouri farmer boy, who has made the Kansas harvest for five years

The mechanics distinctly excelled the other manual workers in education. More than four-fifths of them had completed the eighth grade, a fourth had attended high school, and nearly 10 per cent had attended trade schools. Only 63 per cent of the farmers and 58 per cent of the laborers had finished the eighth grade, and but 16 per cent of the farmers and laborers had attended high school. None of them had attended technical schools.

One seldom meets a harvest hand with a marked foreign accent. The southern harvest, particularly, is handled by Americans. In the Dakotas, the foreign-born are more numerous, particularly Scandinavians, Finns and Germans. Eleven per cent of the harvesters interviewed said they were born abroad, but most of them had been many years in the United States. They had come from twenty-three foreign countries; one-third of them from the Scandinavian nations. The most striking fact with respect to the immigrants developed in our study of the migratory laborers. While the immigrants constituted only 11 per cent of the harvesters interviewed they con-

(*Continued on page* 409)

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A Spiritual Biograph

By FRANK A. WAUGH

Albert Freeman Waugh at seventy

ONE of the most thoroughgoing experiences in my father's life I never understood and hardly suspected until I saw it repeated in his grandson. Formerly there was a suspicion that some explanation had been denied respecting the reasons for the radical move of 1871 when my father suddenly sold his fine farm in Wisconsin and, with his father, mother, wife and two very young children, moved, bag and baggage, lares and penates, irrevocably to the utmost Kansas frontier, a land which he had never seen.

In the family circle in later years two reasons were alleged: the first that the house on the Wisconsin farm had burned down and he didn't want to rebuild it; the second that he wanted to farm in a land where stumps and stones were unknown. These excuses, often repeated, were valuable chiefly as a recognition that explanations were necessary. But, as I have hinted, later years placed the key in my hands, and now I know the answer, better, I verily believe, than my father ever knew it himself.

So here it is: In 1861 he had enlisted in Company H of the First Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, had gone to the front, had participated in all the campaigns of the Army of the Cumberland in 1862, had marched and fought twice across Kentucky and Tennessee and down into Alabama, and on October 8, 1862, had been shot through the knee by a minnie ball at Perryville. After that he lay six months in the hospital under most trying conditions and then came home crippled for life. I know now that those days of grand excitement with the army, those wild forays into roadside groceries and farmyard smoke-houses, those sleepless nights on the ground with eyes and heart open to the stars, those exhilarating marches through strange towns and over unfamiliar hills, and especially those hours of battle when all the desirable things of this world were relinquished and life itself staked against the ultimate gain of personal integrity—I know now that in these experiences all former things had passed away, and that there had arisen in their place an imperious demand for a new life, a life of new objectives and new sanctions. Such a life could not be projected upon the old background. It tore itself free from the old environment and began again upon the virgin sheet of the untouched Kansas prairie.

Thus my father, Albert Freeman Waugh, in December 1871, at the age of thirty-seven, took his five dependents and moved forever away from Wisconsin and into Kansas. The two children were too young to know or care. Mother's mind and heart, I know, resisted the change, though with no perceptible effect. I have sometimes wondered in later years what Grandfather and Grandmother thought of these proceedings. Grandfather did not live long enough for me to learn his mind. Grandmother lived and died in Kansas many years later, having been thoroughly acclimated to the opinion that no other part of the world mattered very much.

Though perfectly invalid at the time it was given, the excuse about stumps and stones as an impediment to agriculture had a history of realism. My father had been born in the Western Reserve in Ohio where Grandfather had cut a farm out of the forest. Then, after Father was large enough to

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participate in the heavy farm work, Grandfather had taken him with the whole family, exactly as he later took Grandfather, and wheeled away in the ox wagon to the pine woods of Wisconsin, where all hands must needs set to and chop another farm out of the standing timber. Thus the past of my father's life, as viewed at the end of the Civil War, was a period of felling trees, rolling heavy logs and painfully clearing small fields for a hand-to-mouth agriculture. That was the past so utterly renounced amidst the volcanic eruptions of the war; and when Father found himself in Kansas where immeasurable miles of level farm land lay ready for instant touch, the physical facts corresponded so closely with the spiritual experience that the two were completely confused. He always spoke (in strong and bitter words) of the stumps; but I now feel certain that in deep reality he made reference to the stumps and stones of a hard and narrow spiritual life from which, by heroic efforts, amidst the convulsions of war, he had partially freed himself.

Albert Freeman Waugh at about twenty-one, just before enlisting in the first Wisconsin volunteer infantry. This picture is from an old tintype

CERTAIN features of this emancipation stand out clearly enough at this late time. The simpler physical aspects may be considered first. Now the life on the farm in Kansas during the 70's and 80's, compared with the life in Wisconsin during the 50's or Ohio during the 40's, was princely ease and luxury. Communication by wagon road, railroad and post was very much better. Matches had replaced flint and tinder. Food was available in abundance and riotous variety. The house was well supplied with books and magazines. And while all such improvements were mainly in the movement of the times, independent of Ohio, Wisconsin and Kansas, this allowance was not always made. The new day was one of comparative prosperity, and in its warmth my father basked and expanded.

But there were other issues, and deeper. My father's boyhood had been spent in the shadow of the old Calvinism. The deadly resentment which young and healthy minds so often conceived for those austere doctrines has been described so often that nothing more need be said now. But this incubus was a part of the old clog which had to be cast overboard in the general wreck of the past. How the inner spirit of the young man was torn in the process no one ever knew. My own belief is that my father himself never realized how terrific the strain had been or how much of himself had gone overboard with the wreckage. He was a man deeply spiritual by constitution; and since he never had offered him any other formula for personal experience, and was not able in the spiritual vacuum where his lot was cast to create his own formulas, he had to live an unformulated life, never quite sure of any of the great verities except those vaguely felt in the intuitions of every honest soul.

Nevertheless, even this negative freedom was a great gain. While Father indulged often in sharp jibes at the popular orthodoxies of the day, he never let his own heart fall under the black clouds of atheism, also popular at that time. The fulminations of Bob Ingersoll never seemed to attract him. He had, in a measure, the serenity of the Greek pantheism which was able to see the Creator in His created world—a world of beauty and wonder where the heavens declared the glory of God and the firmament showed His handiwork.

In trying to reconstruct those spiritual experiences, however, I would not lay too much stress on Calvinism or its antidotes, neither upon any of the formalities of religion. Religion was indeed one of the dominant forces of the hour, a religion largely denatured of all intellectual ingredients. But I like to think of the spiritual life as something much wider than the boundaries of formal religion, and it was this wider country into which my father made his way. Here he was pioneering, too; and here his inner life corresponded so closely with his external circumstances that he and those around him once more mistook one for the other—saw the obvious and overlooked the essential thing.

Personal freedom was the touchstone of all strong thinking at that time. Ideas of personal and political liberty were nascent and attractive. My father, sharing the feelings of most soldiers of the northern army, felt that the war had gained a great boon for humanity in freeing the Negroes. I am sure, though, that however uncertainly he saw the facts, he was himself more powerfully affected by the intellectual emancipations of the time; for the religious bigotry which he detested was even then rapidly going to decay, scientific thought was already profoundly stirred by the doctrines of evolution and its congeners, while the economic life of the nation was being reorganized on a wholly new plan.

The economic reconstruction never reached his consciousness, though he lived to the year 1913, when the factory system had reached its zenith and young men were inquiring for remedies against its proved evils. The factories were a long way from his Kansas farm. But the scientific progress of the time, moving forward like the spring tides, was joy

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and glory for him. In his own farming he saw the problems of science, and found deep satisfaction in their study. This was years before the modern popularity of science in agriculture.

A MUCH more significant chapter in his life dealt with the science of medicine. In the hard days when he was a patient in the military hospitals he grew most bitter against the incompetence of the army surgeons. In some way he got his hands on a few medical books and began to study—first for his own protection. Then, having an insatiable appetite for all kinds of ideas, he studied for the fun of learning. When he got out of the hospital and home again, teaching school on his broken leg, he fell in with quaint and amiable old Dr. Dye, another intellectual rebel. For, in spite of a sweet and tempered old age, Dr. Dye was a homeopathist; and in those times to be a homeopathist or a Congregationalist or a believer in evolution meant to be a fighter. Those were the days of rich intolerance, and every heretic had to defend himself.

The story of how my father came to be a country physician in Kansas grows naturally out of this. Although interesting in detail it is too long to be told here. The facts already sketched will show how this was a part of the all-comprehensive revolution in which he broke with his past. I am sorely tempted to picture here the long years of service to that frontier neighborhood—how the country doctor attended everyone in the hours of pain, how he helped children into the world and said goodbye to those who were leaving, how his steady courage carried many a man and woman through life's crises, how he came, in fact, to exercise the high functions of a pastor in a flock which had no other shepherd. All this is sweet remembrance to his son, but for the present I am trying to picture his own personal experience of spiritual revolt and reconstruction. Medicine was to him less a field of social service—he never regarded himself as a social worker—than a ground of revolt and controversy, but most of all a subject for investigation and intellectual activity. The varied experiences of a country practice, digested by his own reflections, were his chief source of medical instruction. And here, with his doctoring and his farming, he built a new world for himself, a world so close to his own existence that he seldom saw himself in it. He saw only Kansas, to him a glorious dream, his neighbors, the perverse allopathists who insisted on giving great doses of strong drugs, and the Democrats who betrayed the country in 1861 and who still wanted to elect a president in 1876.

His grandson, Frederick V. Vaugh, at the time of his discharge from the army in 1919

My father's implicit belief in the infallibility of the Republican Party, and all this side of his life, while most engaging, have no part of his pioneering. There were other experiences which had a part, but a minor part, and there was the influence of heredity worth tracing and estimating; but in the experiences of the war alone we have enough to account for the breaking up of life to its very depths.

Those of us who have been near enough to some of the young men in the recent war to get glimpses of their terrific strains of experience and the convulsions of character know that this is not a unique example. It was typical of thousands in the 60's and of thousands more in 1918.

While the explosives which wrecked the past for my father are more clearly demonstrable than the quiet activities in which he rebuilt his new life in Kansas, they are certainly not more significant. Earthquake and volcanic eruption make more noise than the slow geologic processes by which new rocks are deposited under the seas, but they are less important, after all. The rebuilding processes in my father's life centered round three foci. These were his farming, his medical practice and his interest in public affairs.

He was an enthusiastic farmer; and finding it necessary under the very different conditions of early Kansas to learn new methods, he set about the task with enthusiasm. He soon developed better methods of making prairie hay than were then commonly known, and he made and used five times as much hay as his neighbors. He selected and graded his seed wheat, and in a section where wheat growing was the leading industry he was certainly the best grower for miles around. He grew thousands of trees in his nursery and planted them on his farm, his forest plantations being notable throughout the country. He bred good stock. He made and sold good butter, cheese, soap, sausage. He grew the first alfalfa, perhaps, in Kansas. He had a fine garden, containing vegetables of which the Missouri-bred neighbors did not know even the names. All these things, accomplished in an extreme frontier country, are evidence of enthusiastic work—work which would not only

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A Devastated Village

By FRANK THONE

THE village does not lie in the valley of the Marne or of the Vesle. Its streets are not torn into craters by an enemy's airplane bombs, nor its walls beaten flat by his drumfire. The blood spilled during the warfare that ruined it flowed from nothing more serious than broken heads and bruised noses, and the only fires that ever threatened its roofs were such as the local fire department could extinguish. Yet war was its undoing: a local civil war, small and obscure, without any chronicle, even now remembered only very vaguely by oral tradition; but a war all the more bitter for being focused small, all the more stubborn for being obscure, no less ruinous for that the inhabitants mostly lack the imagination to realize the measure of their ruin.

The tragedy of the village, like most tragedies that are wholly sodden and unrelieved, is not at all in evidence at first glance. Seen from the train window, it looks like any other of the thousands of similar places in the Middle West: a red-oxided station combining freight depot and waiting-room, a half-pensioned flagman guarding the crossing of the one business street, with its perspective of jumbled stores, garages and dingy pool halls, one or two churches, a medley of frame houses on the back streets, a brick schoolhouse very much in need of repairs; at the top of the dominating hill, where the old-time *tyrannus* would have established himself, a big frame house in the most approved style of the American Dark Ages, with bay-windows, turrets, cupolas, iron ornaments and all the rest; as the train pulls out again through the yards, a cattle-pen, a grain elevator, and some sort of a rough machine chewing at the side of a steep bank, tearing out limestone or sand or something of the kind. Languidly seen, it is all forgotten before its next repetition comes into view a dozen miles farther on.

But if one's business takes one off the train and through the village, then the signs of decay, like the sunken cheeks and slack muscles of an old man, become evident enough. Back of a crumbling brick wall near the railroad, in an excavation thick with grass and grown with cottonwood trees, is a series of brick-lined pits or cisterns, gaping at the sky. On another side of the outskirts are tumuli that were once brick-kilns; from them a tentacle of rust-eaten narrow-gauge railroad stretches toward the old clay-pits. Nearby is a long, low, very ugly stone building, its roof rotting, its doors gone, its windows all smashed in. This much even the most superficial glance will show; a little mousing will turn up still other half-buried bones of dead industrial megatheria. The only spark of life left is in a small cement mill, which still gnaws at the stones in the hillside. Altogether, the place shows the typical symptoms of a collapsed "boom" town, whose inhabitants, fast forgetting old prosperities and faded hopes, have again turned to bucolic life and the Lethe of the lesser things.

The fall of the village, however, was not caused by the same factors that brought about the collapse of the ordinary type of "boom" town. Such went down because they tried to build industries where industries had no natural right to exist, on foundations of local patriotism and internal credit, with nothing to feed on and no good way to market. This village had real and rich advantages which were lacking to most mid-western towns, advantages given both by fortunate combinations of natural resources and by the course of human history there.

To begin with, it had the great advantage of an early start in a good place. The valley of its river is one of the great natural highways of the Middle West: Marquette knew and used it; La Salle planned to control it as a vital step in the creation of his empire of New France; early American settlers flowed down it like a tide; the first canal west of Chicago and the first railroad to reach the Mississippi followed its banks. The village is older than the canal, much older than the railroad. It was built during the period when the making of American place-names was dominated by the classics, and bears the title of one of the proudest of the old Phoenecian colonies.

Natural wealth lay at its gates. Geological forces gave it the cream of what passes for mineral riches in the Middle West: coal, brick clays, glass sand, and a limestone that needed hardly any treatment to make a high grade of hydraulic cement. The valley alluvium, moreover, is as rich as that of the Nile, and the upland farms are pacemakers even in the corn belt. On the exploitation of these things the village grew into a town, and looked forward to being a city. Its industries prospered, and there seemed to be no dearth of materials for their unlimited expansion. The megatheria browsed at will, and were fat and contented.

THEN something broke. What it was, there is no knowing now, for the histories of the civil wars of the early American city-states, in those days before government inquiries, were never set down in writing. The vanquished are dead or scattered, the victor (if he was a victor), one learns, is dead also; the only chroniclers of the strike are those who knew least about it, the old-timers among the local business men. What the strike was about they have forgotten, if indeed they ever knew. They held

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no stock in the town's industries: the control of these was pretty well centered in the scroll-work castle on the hill; neither had they sufficient intercourse with the inarticulate men in the yards and plants to know the full of their desires and their grievances.

And after the lapse of these many years the little they might have known is pretty well forgotten: it is futile to remember the details of a struggle in which you had no part, except to watch the population dwindle, and your own business with it, to see the record of unpaid accounts grow and grow, forcing some of you to the wall and pinching even the survivors for many years. No, they don't like to talk about the strike.

If urged, they will communicate a little, though with visible unwillingness, and the impatience of men forced to remember distasteful things they have wanted to forget, and have pretty well succeeded in forgetting.

"Yes, there was a strike here. Way back yonder it was, when Dad still ran the store. What it was all about we weren't quite sure, but we rather sided in with the men. They were pretty good customers; some of 'em born around here, too. Pretty well organized, they seemed to be, and for a while *he* (with an oblique nod toward the rococo acropolis) had to shut down the mill and the yards. But *he* wouldn't give in an inch. Brought in strike-breakers from Chicago. Nobody in town would board 'em, so he built that stone barracks—yes, that old building with the windows all broken. There was a little fighting—couldn't blame the boys—but not much, after all. Mostly they went away, some back to the new plants starting in the other towns along the valley. Strikebreakers didn't stay; they drifted on to the new plants, too. Mill didn't run a fourth of the time, and the yards stopped altogether.

"It dragged on for years, but still *he* wouldn't give in; stubborn, proud old cuss; just shut himself up in his house and never saw anybody. Other mills grew, his stood still. Guess he'd lost most of his markets. Then, too, the others down the valley put in new machinery, and could undercut him in time and costs. So things just dragged on. Finally *he* died, nobody ever knew what he died of.

"His son came home then to live—had been traveling or going to school somewhere. The boy wasn't a business head, though, like his father was; not much pep to him at all, and he just let things keep on drifting. There was money enough for him to live on, and that's all he's been doing these twenty-five or thirty years. Stays up there at the big house, when he isn't in Chicago or somewhere else. Never made the least attempt to get things going again. Some say it was for spite, some say the old man's will forbade it; mostly, though, we think he just doesn't know how. Anyway, we get along without him. Good country trade growing up here now, and the elevator helps, and all that kind of thing. . . ."

AND so the sorry little epic trails off into the plaintive optimism of a minor georgic, and the men who might have had much must needs console themselves with having kept a little. Whether any of them are ever troubled with visions of the kind of stores they might have owned, the opportunities they might have given their children, the city of which they might have been burgesses, it is neither profitable nor kind to ask. The setbacks and sufferings, the probable starved tragedies lived through by the beaten and scattered "hands" of the ruined plants, had best not be reflected on; it all happened long ago, and there are plenty of present troubles to plague us.

And as one goes down the darkening street of the village, one sees a single lighted window on the acropolis, watching the village like a jealous yellow eye. How of the two thwarted lives up there, the dead father and the futile son?

If we could only untangle all strikes from their urban complexities and isolate their consequences even to the second and third generations, as this village has unconsciously done, what reaches of devastated regions might we not have all across the face of America?

Let Us Have Done With Words

To a Comrade

By MARY SIEGRIST

Let us have done with words;
I know so little of them; I fear deep.
They are the traitors to that lovelier tongue
Whose speech is silence only,
They are as shields that hide us from the sun;
They are as idle winds that whisper nothingness.
Here in your face is all your history.
Here in these sculptured lines is graven all
The perilous path, the beautiful brave way.
Nothing else matters—so let us have done
With blurring sounds that shut us from ourselves.
Ten thousand years of speech would tell us naught
Each of the other. In your face is all
To one who looks for beauty's secret word.
Let us have done with mumbling words.
They are as frothing waves
That blow across a gulf of nothingness.

Let us have done with all their gilded treachery.
Beauty would speak to us from out a silent place.
Beauty would have her way with us—would take
Us hearkening by the hand and lead us out
And tell us all we need to know.
Here in the listening silence where we wait
On echoing swift feet she comes to us.

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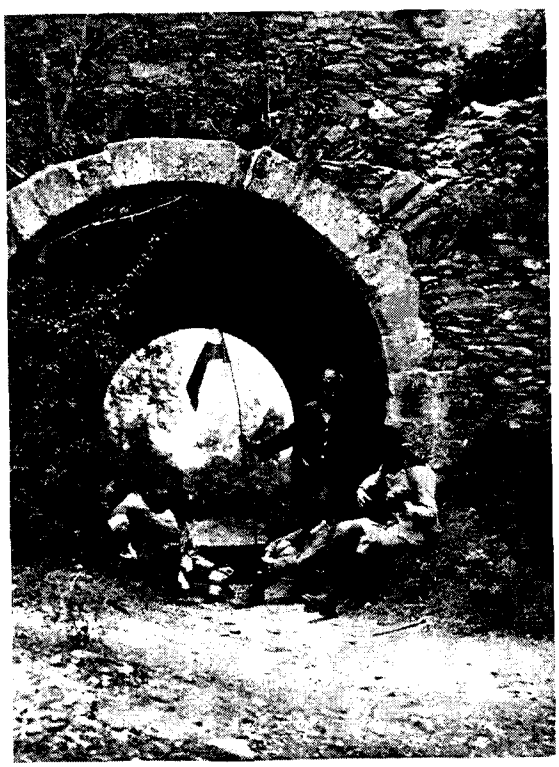
Backgrounds of the Youth Movement

Recent Photographs by Julius Grosz

Hundreds of thousands of young people in Central Europe have been swept into one or another of the spontaneous, self-governing organizations for self-expression, open-air life, cultivation of folk arts and historic traditions, for the revival of simple, ethical human relationships, and for a sincere quest of ultimate truths, that make up the "youth movement"



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Five Young Europeans Look Upon America

BELOW are some impressions imperfect and incomplete, but honest, of bits of our American civilization. They are given by five young students from as many European countries who have just completed a five months' tour of American colleges and universities under the auspices of the National Student Forum. Invited by an American student organization; selected for the occasion by two young Americans who searched Europe for them or their like last summer; chosen as individuals almost unhampered by party or group affiliations at home—these young men have brought to the students who have heard them here a quite objective view of the movements now animating a large minority of Europe's youth. [See Survey Graphic for January, 1923.] While traveling here they have been observing with the same detachment that has characterized their utterances. Perhaps their frankly expressed reactions to us may throw a ray of light on our particular difference from any one of them; and, having come to a recognition of that difference, we may be able to see the way clearer away from international sentimentality towards the enormous depths which are involved in the search for international understanding.

"Above all nations is humanity." I saw that once, in fact more than once, hung on the walls or over the doorways of American college organizations that work for international understanding.

What does it mean? I asked many students what it meant to them. In every case but two I got back such answers as these: "Universal Brotherhood." "All peoples are the same; we are humans and have no differences." "Well, fer gosh sake, yer can't go on fighting and killing forever!" "All one in the unity of humanity." All good, and all the expression of a true desire. Only two of these people, however, had the slightest conception of what form that desire must take in its actual working out. All of those whom I met who said: "All peoples are the same, we are all humans and we have no differences," were the strongest (in their particular places) objectors to others who disagreed and were quite divergent from them in their reaction to the ordinary happenings of life. Because a German, a Czech, and an American did not throw the same picture on each mental screen these people said, "This is against the conception of international understanding and good will. We are the same, and until we forget our national and race distinctions we are inhuman and lost."

The significant error here is one to which we in America are particularly prone—the attaching to mere surface expressions of terms drawn from and applying to the deepest of fundamentals. I mean by that the all too prevalent idea that because we chant "brotherhood, brotherhood" in unison together; because we go picnicking with our Chinese friend and try to be like neither ourselves nor like him; and because we try to be sentimentally generous in the consciousness that we are evidently quite different in approach, background, mental action, and capacity from the same Chinese friend, yet we have tried to bear and ignore these differences. We try to beat ourselves into an emotional and mental state where we will feel "at one," and absolutely shut out these annoying differences which appear to be there.

There lies the point. We seldom realize that to be "at one" deeply and fundamentally we must be ourselves—different and distinct—in the surface traditionals of our lives. The fact that we are different, each the product of a separate civilization, must be recognized, and we may thank the good Lord when our foreign friend realizes that because we are fundamentally one and the same we must be absolutely true to our differences—that is ourselves—in dealing with each other. Differences must be recognized and welcomed as fact, to be seized, studied and understood. Brotherhood and international understanding are a farce if each cries: "I believe in the oneness of man, so all men must train themselves to be as I."

GEORGE D. PRATT, JR.

America's Poverty

By PIET ROEST

ONE of the stereotype questions put on us during our six months' stay in this country was: "How do you like America?" In the beginning my answer was: "I think I like it, I can't yet tell definitely." Then it became: "I do like it, it's very interesting." Now it would be: "I love it."

There will be some statements in this article which will not please the reader. Remember, however, they are only impressions, and we did not see all of American life. Who ever could? Your country is so enormous, it is a continent. And great as this country is, so great is the people. Great, however, only in a certain way. Great in its vastness, and in its organizations, in its material well-being and in its sanity.

This I could call the first and dominant impression of American life: great in its work. My first glimpse of it was during a month's stay in New York. It cost me a week to get used to the thundering turmoil of this giant city, but now I hear music in it, the music of strenuous work. The people live here under a tremendous strain, impelling those who can stay and stand it to the most intense activity. No matter what the motives for it are, it has led to huge creations in a relatively short time.

Although New York is unique and its enervating speed-fever without equal in other cities, its spirit of work is typical of the greater part of the country. The immense factories, the splendid highways, the railroad system and the numerous power plants, all give expression to this highly active and efficient life which seems to be typically American. One feels how this nation has conquered its own vast territory by unceasing effort, and how it has a pride and joy in overcoming physical obstacles, in creative activity, in the daring deed. Herein America is great, and it knows it. It has the vigor and inspiring charm of a youth, and therefore it is not surprising that it has also other characteristics of youth, which are—to be overcome.

It worships muscle and boasts of its physical strength—

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but is ignorant of its deeper and finer life that is suffering from lack of vitality.

I noticed this in the rather small place which art, philosophy and personal religion have in the life of the people here, as compared with the enormous interest in polish, applied science and material well-being. You may point to your art galleries, your professors of philosophy and your innumerable churches. But I remember, just by way of two examples, what infinitely deeper and richer expression the life of the soul finds in European music or even in the so-called "Negro spirituals" than in American music, the most popular of which is "jazz"; and how ridiculous the churches on Broadway look between the "temples of business." Really, these things are not accidental. It is not lack of ethical standards that I mean—I think there is more good will here than in Europe—it is lack of emotional and intellectual depth, it is poverty of inner life. And it is not felt except by a few because the outer life keeps one busy and noisy all the time.

Yet, as a youth, America is not content. It has the enormous problem of adjusting and harmonizing all the surging forces within its own life, of which it understands as yet so little, and at the same time getting that inner wealth, that deeper vision, which will give meaning and direction to its otherwise meaningless and chaotic life.

There are many who see the problem and try hard to have a share in its solution, but there are too many who do not see it, and who take their prejudices and learned-by-heart opinions as life's last word. A great many of these people are incurably conservative and by the passion of their biased convictions dominate the masses they lead. Their notions about 100 per cent Americanism, about Christianity, about education and about international affairs are as narrow and as dangerous as the Prussianism which they pretend to have destroyed. Indeed, the greatest enemy of America is no longer outside but in its own bosom. It is most clearly demonstrated in the ridiculous fear of ideas or even names which smell of liberalism in thought, christened without any discrimination—radicalism or bolshevism. I call this ridiculous because in the first place it is medieval; in the second place it is opposed to what America wants to stand for—freedom,—and in the third place stupid, because it shows weakness and calls forth intensified and underground action. The man or nation that believes in the strength and truth of his principles, is ready to accept every attack and to defend them on open and free ground. There is no progress possible without freedom of expression among normal and self-conscious citizens of any state. A keen realization of this fact would do away with one of the concerns of American life which threatens to run amuck in phrases the living meaning of which is not understood. It would be well if all those who cry democracy, patriotism and liberty, would stop a moment and think about the meaning of these words in life, individual as well as national and international.

These are a few out of many impressions. As a whole, I love America, and its people, and I believe in its growth towards real greatness. By that I mean the permeating of its material life by a deep and rich spiritual life which gives meaning and immortal glory to it all. I believe America will find its true self, because I know that many are already on the road to finding it. And I believe that in its adoration for the successful man in material life, for the hero in athletics or on the screen, there is more than mere materialism, there is a groping for the ideally fit, healthy and fine man in whom spirit and body are in harmony. But if this nation is ever going to develop that man, it will have to find time and appreciation for its greatest poet, Walt Whitman, and live more than now in the spirit of its greatest character, Abraham Lincoln.

Open Doors

By WILLIAM ROBSON

DURING the past five months I have seen what may, I think, be regarded as a representative cross-section of American higher education, it having been my lot to visit some thirty colleges and universities scattered from one end of the continent to the other. Those thirty colleges presented a bewildering diversity of outward form, for they included women's colleges and men's colleges, the small coeducational college and the great state university, the Negro training institution and the Indian vocational school, the endowed university of the Middle West and the relatively ancient seat of learning, such as Harvard and Yale in the East. At first it seemed a staggering impossibility to say anything whatever that would be valid of all those multifarious places where education is carried on. But gradually, as we journeyed from college to college, I remembered that saying of Voltaire: *Plus ça change, plus ça reste la même chose.* [The more it changes, the more it remains the same thing]. I repeat it here for the benefit of those who, while reading this, have been rapidly dividing the number of days in five months by thirty, and concluding that since (if traveling is allowed for) we could not possible have stayed more than three or four days at each college, any remarks I may have to offer must, as a result, inevitably be superficial.

The visitor from Europe cannot fail to be amazed at two features in the American college system: First, its extreme newness and tremendously rapid growth; and second, its accessibility, at any rate as compared with England, to the sons and daughters of the mass of the people. A degree of opportunity for higher education exists over here which is absolutely unknown on the other side of the water. A boy or girl can get into college much more easily, and with much poorer parents, than is usually the case in England.

But when the boy gets in he receives something entirely different from what is known as a university education in Euprope. He gets, not so much an insight into ways of thinking and methods of reasoning, not so much a background of culture, as a training in "leadership," "citizenship" and "character." This may be a desirable thing at the present point of development of the United States, but it is something quite distinct from the European conception of a university.

The student not only gets something different, but he expects something different. In England you go to the university to develop yourself, while in America you go to the university to distinguish yourself. There you have a whole world of difference. In America a boy is always endeavoring to attain some outward sign of achievement, to make the college paper, to make one of the clubs or fraternities, to make the football team. The center of gravity is in the world of action far more than in the world of thought.

You get the same tendency echoed in the academic sphere. I was struck by the excellence, the vigor and the competence with which affairs relating to the world of action are handled. I found that every one could use a typewriter and drive an automobile. I found that drives for money were made on a vast scale and with a success undreamed of in England. I found that the applied sciences, such as medicine and engineering and agriculture, and the vocational studies, such as law, are at their best taught (and learned!) far better than anywhere in England. But when it came to what one may call by contrast the world of thought, quite the opposite was the case. Pure science and the purely cultural subjects, such as classics and literature and art, are absolutely inferior in most cases and usually neglected. The situation in regard to them is either tragic or comic. Ac-

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cordingly, although one meets students who obviously show promise of becoming great engineers, great doctors, captains of industry and so forth, one rarely if ever meets a student who seems destined to become a Darwin, a Beethoven, a Shelley.

One of the main reasons why the American university system is not going the right way to produce men of genius in art and philosophy, pure science and literature, is because diversity of character is not encouraged but suppressed; for genius is the flower of exceptional diversity. Let me explain how this suppression is brought about.

In the first place you have the fraternity. A fraternity is a place where a number of dull young men invite other young men to join them on condition that they too become dull and conventional like themselves. The resulting intellectual stagnation is called fraternity; and in these places there is no room at all for a man who is in any way different from his fellows. Any knobs on his character are quickly knocked off. The fraternity has certain good phases, but the above describes the effect upon the mentality of its members.

Then there are the badges and class distinctions which abound in America, the land where class distinctions are supposed not to exist. You can often tell from a man's appearance almost everything about him. At Leland Stanford (to take an example at random) sophomores wear white corduroy trousers, juniors wear small caps, seniors wear hard Mexican hats. At Oklahoma and elsewhere engineers wear Stetson hats and lawyers carry canes; while the ubiquitous pins and buttons show which fraternity a man belongs to and where he met his girl. The "tyranny of categories" is pushed to an extreme point and has a very important effect in reducing the individual to a mere member of a category, and robbing him of his individuality to what I consider a dangerous extent. Add to this the absence of a reasonable amount of privacy in the life of the student, and you may see what I am driving at. The desire for privacy is regarded as bad form in American colleges; and the usual rule is that everybody's door must always be open for everybody to walk in or look in at random. In the fraternities in particular, the lack of privacy is a special curse. The boys all keep together, eat together, wash together, play together and sing together. In practice no one's door is ever closed, even if it is permissible in theory (on which point I am ignorant).

But a certain amount of privacy is absolutely essential for the growth of individuality—indeed, for any real inner development at all. And this the American student does not get. That is why, when I looked through Herbert Hoover's little book on American Individualism, it occurred to me that there is no real individualism whatever in America in the sense of there being a true diversity of character and personality. For this lack the university system is largely responsible.

Fraternities

By JORGEN HOLCK

WHEN in the beginning of this year we foreign students started traveling about this country, going from university to university, there was one point on which we never got tired of asking information, and that was the students who were working their way through college. To our astonishment, we found that a large proportion of the students, both boys and girls, earned their living at the same time that they were studying; we found that the students held widely varying jobs, from waiting on table in the dining hall or in some fraternity house to regular industrial work downtown or, in the case of the girls, a position in a house as nurse or servant, if not one connected with the college. This in itself is extremely interesting, even if we take into consideration that it is being done in a country where life, after all, is incredibly easy; but even more interesting still is the spirit in which the whole thing is carried out, the way in which the working students look at their work, and the way in which they are looked upon by their more fortunate fellow students. A student would go to his job at four or five every morning or wait on table in a fraternity house, apparently without thinking for a moment that there was anything special about it or pitying himself for that reason. And these students seemed to be fully recognized by the others as friends and fellow students in the best spirit. After a meeting we would be taken for supper by two girls who were intimate friends, and a moment later one of them would sit by our side while the other one would wait on our table, smiling and perfectly happy. This way of looking at work, of whatever sort it may be, and the spirit among the students in relation to work, is above praise.

This spirit of true democracy is contradicted and denied as soon as we consider the fraternity and sorority system. In these societies you will find what is considered, by themselves and others, as the aristocracy among the students on the campus. Here you find the typical student life, and here is lived the "high life" of the student "upper ten." The fraternities have a social time together and the girls from a sorority are invited to a ball, and not the slightest consideration seems to be given to all the poor wretches who are outside. Of course, the members will join with them in the class-room and in sports, and perhaps also greet them kindly on the campus, but often no more. Both fraternities and sororities are founded on an extremely undemocratic basis, in so far as the new members are chosen out of every year's harvest of freshmen. No one can apply for membership, but new members are chosen by the body of old members. Who are chosen? Only the rich or well-to-do students? No, by no means, though, after having seen the standard of living in many of the houses, I believe that this is often the case. The standard seems to be uniformity. Every one who is different is "crazy," perhaps a bookworm or the like, and only those students are chosen who are believed to be able to become good fraternity brothers or sorority sisters, and that of course means that they will have to measure up to what is considered to be "good form." Under a system like that you may be sure seldom to get a new member of a distinct personality.

This whole system of fraternities and sororities is one reason, among others, for the remarkable uniformity of the American students; east, west, south, and north you meet with practically the same type. They dress alike, they do the same things at the same time, they think and speak in the same terms and have practically all the same interests. As far as I can see, it is worked out in this way: Given a fraternity chapter of a large organization. It has been started long ago; and through the generations of students a certain tradition survives, a certain standard is upheld, and certain things are considered good form. This tradition, this standardized form of life and behavior is honored as a sort of sacred rite by the older members of the fraternity. Each year, when a number of freshmen are chosen to become members of the fraternity, they have to undergo a long period of education when they are told by the older students what is expected from a member and what it is necessary to do in order to keep up the standard and honor of the institution. If by any chance the freshman has a personality of his own, nevertheless he willingly submits to this whole standardizing because he wants to enjoy all the good things which he can only get as a member of a fraternity.

This process of leveling also goes on outside the fraternities and sororities, and one of the great factors here is sport.

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It is assumed that every one is interested in sport, and every student is expected to go to the intercollegiate games. I have not met a single student sincerely convinced that sport is all bunk and waste of time; at any rate, I have not met one who would say so. Considering the huge number of students in the United States, this uniformity is unnatural and must exist only because it is enforced. Where is the student who loves his books, who would stay away from a game, a fraternity ball or some other entertainment in order to buy a new book? You seldom find a student with more than twenty or thirty books, and I have not, as far as I remember, met any who had two or three hundred books. Why not? Because the time and the interest which might have been given to books is taken by other activities.

Colored Impressions

By JOACHIM FRIEDRICH

WHEN a foreigner today ventures to talk about his impressions, he needs *some* courage! Undoubtedly it would be a difficult and rather troublesome job to deal objectively with the problems of this country. But some people believe that mere impressions render a valuable service, too, if they are told without any pretension of being of substantial value by themselves.

Without any such pretension, these few remarks will deal with one of the most striking problems which exist today—at least in my conception of the American civilization. How vital this problem appears in my eyes may be evident from the fact that it occupied my meditation from my first day in this country. Wherever I go, it seems inevitable that some experience or other startles me with a new side of the problem.

Just recently I had the opportunity of listening to a group of colored people from Hampton Institute singing before an audience of white people of all sorts. On this occasion there were presented to me once more the involved problems of which I got a concrete impression when we visited Howard University, Hampton Institute and Fisk College. What many men in those places had told me, when I was there, I observed: At times when those singers put their whole feeling into a song, certain individuals considered this an occasion to laugh. [Since I found myself among the laughers, I was enabled to understand that this was a desperate attempt to cover the horrible abyss which gaped between the religious devotion of the singers and our own inner shallowness.] This laughter strikes those singers, as I know from their own statements, like spiritual whipping, and often I was wondering whether or not the physical ill-usage has been replaced by spiritual ill-usage. One of those vexed fellows sings My Refuge—

> . . . our forefathers
> Who 'neath the stinging lash of slavery
> Could smile and sing, and dare to forge ahead,
> Undaunted, unafraid to nobler heights. . . .

The fact that illiteracy exists among the Negroes, does not imply for me that they have no spirit. Moreover, I understand that illiteracy is a question of mind, apparently connected with the Negro's problem of fitting himself into our society. Hence there is no doubt that education serves as a field of valuable experiences—if education has as one of its chief purposes to make us fit into society. If higher education is to be successful, the grown-up students must be conscious of their aim. Therefore, I asked at Howard the question which I usually put before senior college students: Why are you at college? To my surprise I never came across a man who did not answer immediately: "To lead my home folk out of their present distress." "What do you mean by lead?" I continued the inquisition. "Oh, to render service to my people who do not yet know how to meet the existing difficulties of our civilization." This was only the starting point of the discovery of a mental aliveness among the students of Howard University which I should like to see among the students all over the world.

On the other hand, you have of course to take into consideration that those two thousand students are selected from a colored population of ten million people. Still, the spirit of these men was so extraordinary that it would be worth while, I think, to provide for the selection of some more of them.

They all seemed to have made service their ultimate principle in life. I do not know whether or not this is the reason why so many of the colored students take up the professions, or prepare for all kinds of teaching. But teaching must be understood in the most comprehensive sense of the word. A gentleman at Hampton who told us about his extension work, mentioned particularly the amazing results accomplished by modern instruction in farming. The revenues from modernized farms as well as their equipment, seem to have doubled. Similarly, all students at Hampton were aware of the great responsibility which they have to carry through when they enter work.

But one thing to which I found very little attention was paid, is that education means besides all practical acquirements some inner development. Moreover, I was thinking that the race problem had been discussed primarily as a cultural and civilizational problem; that means, if it means anything, a spiritual problem. Yet, the colored students accepted, though many denied it, almost entirely the forms of expression of the inner life which have been molded in western Europe. Most of them tried, though subconsciously, to make themselves fit those forms. They tried to "live up to them." This appeared to me fatal. The doom of our European peoples was that they tried to imitate, or even to copy, Greece, Rome or something else. This is a slave-like attitude. Besides, it rests upon the materialistic-rationalistic conception of life: that every coat fits everybody. I cannot avoid worrying because most of the colored men I have met do not realize strongly enough the danger in which they live as regards their inner life. They are so scared to death to be different that they are almost ridiculous in their attempt to be similar.

It seems, however, as if it is very dangerous to be different, because some people have developed the theory that to be different means to be undemocratic very much in contradiction to the Pilgrim fathers who came to this country in order to find some place where they might be allowed to live their own lives: to be different.

I believe that the man who tries to fight differences is an enemy of the noblest traditions of this country. But difference does not involve superiority or inferiority; it means life. Only dead men are equal. The essential part of the question, so far as democracy is concerned, is not equality of gifts but equality of opportunity to display those gifts. But this is apparently just the crucial point: how to provide for equal opportunities? One story was told me which shows most strikingly this difficulty:

An old Negro woman, to whom her adored mistress showed a picture of Niagara Falls, was so abashed by the picture that she remained taciturn for quite a while. But suddenly her old, wrinkled face gleamed and she exclaimed: "It looks exactly like you do!" And then she was silent again.

Those around her laughed. The conclusion of most listeners was apparently that she was so primitive that she could not distinguish a waterfall from a lady. She was

(*Continued on page* 413)

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Courtesy of Mrs. Johansen

M. Jean McLane

America Out of Doors

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GIFFORD BEAL
GEORGE BELLOWS
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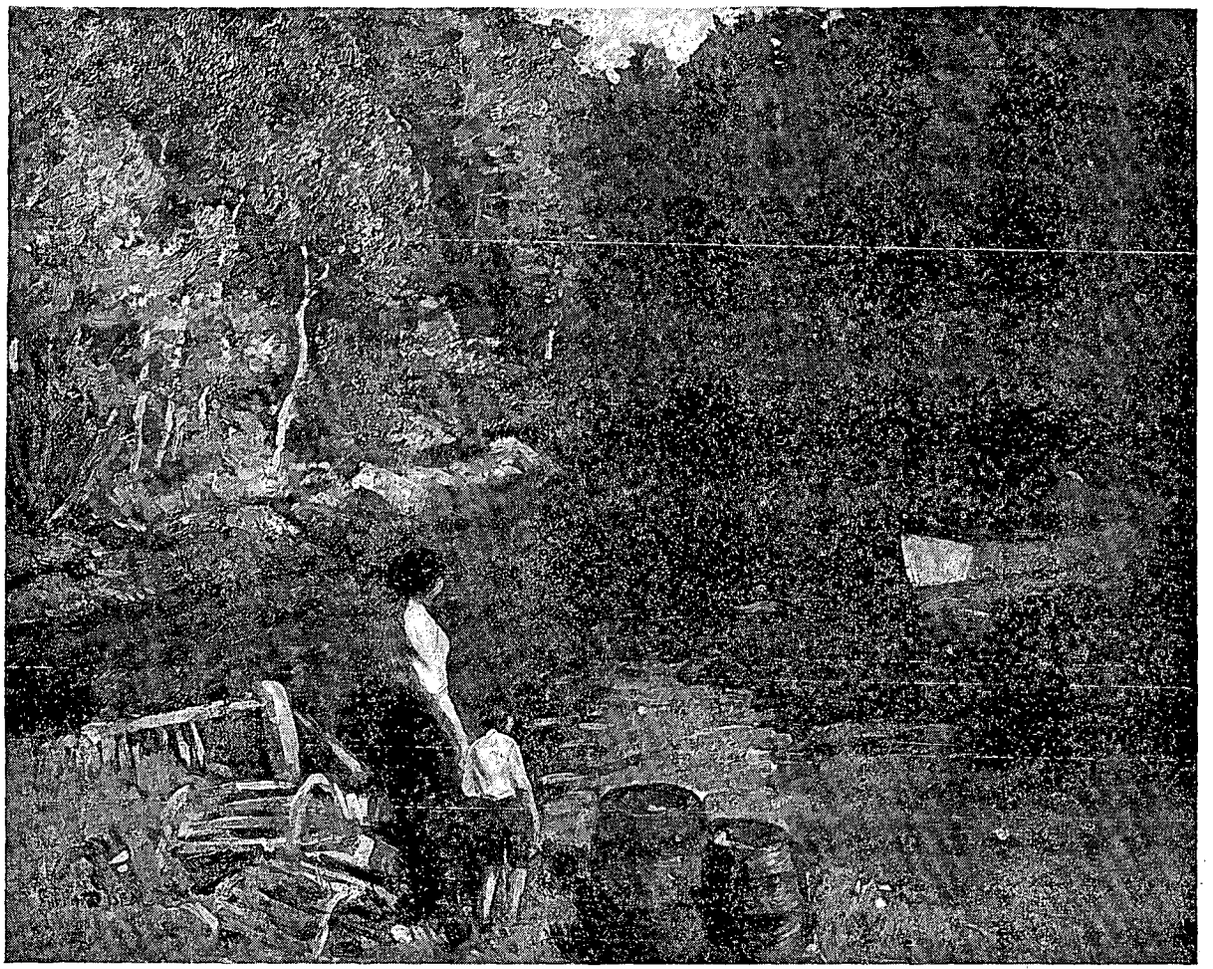
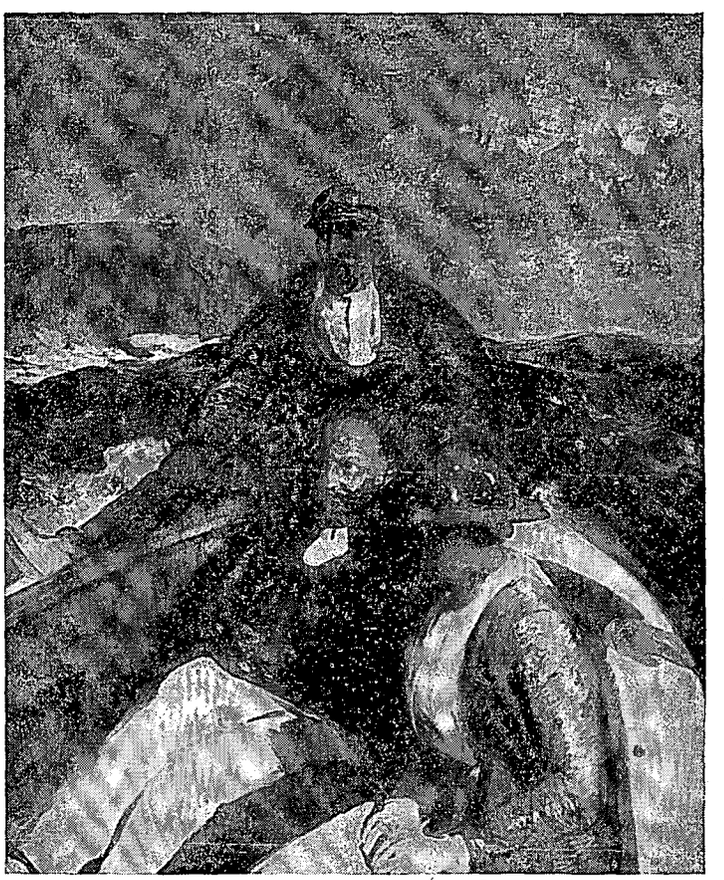


MAINE COVE

Gifford Beal



THE MOONLIGHT RIDE

George Bellows

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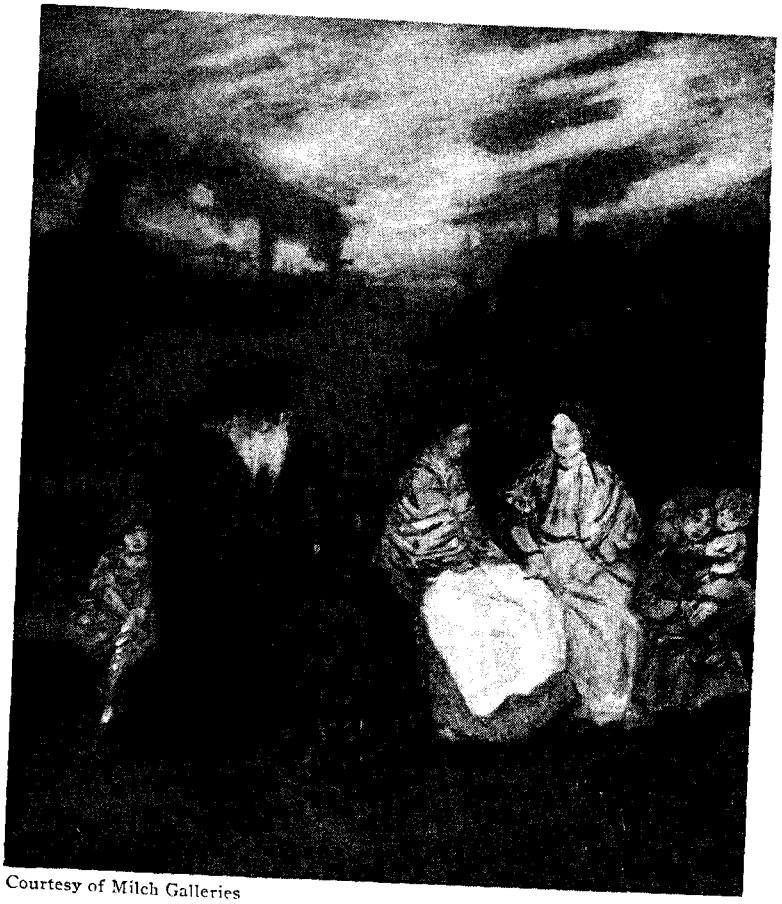
THE PIGEON FANCIER

John Sloan



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ON THE PIER

Jerome Myers

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PICNIC ON THE HILL

Luis Mora

IN THE
PARK

Edward H. Potthast

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THE
BLACKBERRY
PICKER

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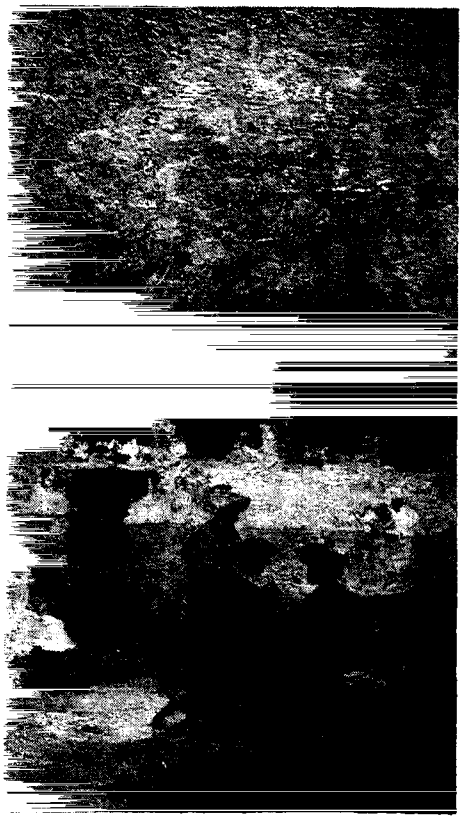

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GOSSIPS

Edward H. Potthast

FOUR CHILDREN AND A RABBIT

Bernard Karfiol

THE GUIDE

Frank W. Benson

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The Change I Found in Ireland

By ARTHUR GREENWOOD

Englishmen turn to Mr. Greenwood in much the same way that Americans hail an appraisal by William Allen White. Yesterday a member of the Ministry of Reconstruction and today Labor member of Parliament, he brings unusual qualities to the task of evaluating Ireland's progress.

WHEN I was in Ireland at the height of the British campaign of repression two and a half years ago, I found Dublin and other towns dominated by "Black and Tans" and Auxiliary Cadets, with troops in the background. There was a constant display of force. Loaded rifles and revolvers, machine guns, armored cars, sandbags, tanks and all the paraphernalia of war were in evidence. In Dublin and many other places the curfew regulations forbade people to be in the streets after ten o'clock at night. There was an atmosphere of terror everywhere and a feeling of further calamities still to come. When I visited Dublin a few weeks ago, I was conscious of a change. Republican friends were surprised when I gave it as my impression that there was a freer air in the city. I was told that I had happened to come at a fortunate moment. However that may be, I do not believe that Dublin would exchange the conditions of today for the conditions of the later British occupation. Yet it cannot be pretended that conditions of life are normal. Though there is less military ostentation than before, there is still a display of force. The maintenance of order in the city of Dublin has not yet been relegated solely to the police. Armed foot patrols of the Irish Free State promenade the streets. Their peremptory "put 'em up" as a preliminary to a search for arms frequently assails the ears. The presence of armed troops in the streets is, in itself, a sufficient indication that times are not normal. Yet the general situation is more normal than it has been for some years. Within the last couple of months public meetings have been held in Ireland—a sure sign of the return of law and order—and the leaders of the Free State have appeared on public platforms.

To understand the present situation and the events that have led up to it, it is necessary briefly to recall the origin of the strife that divided Ireland into two hostile camps as soon as self-government was assured.*

For centuries Ireland had lain under the heel of a power which did not understand the people. After a long struggle which embarrassed British politics for a generation and split the Liberal Party, it had secured the passage of a Home Rule Act which was torn from its grasp because of the outbreak of the Great War.

The treatment of the Irish people during the war, combined with the suspension of the Home Rule Act, had fanned the flames of discontent and driven Irish men and women to more desperate measures. The rebellion of Easter, 1916, had inaugurated a new war, and the previous policy of home rule had given way before the rising tide of republicanism. The British government had tried force, but the force which was applied had failed miserably. The remedy adopted was more force, and a campaign of repression.

Towards the end of 1920, the British Labor Party sent a commission to Ireland (of which I was a member) partly to investigate the situation created by the government's disastrous policy and partly to explore the possibilities of peace. It is well known now that at that time there was a favorable opportunity for reaching an understanding. Mr. Lloyd George not only failed to grasp the opportunity, but pursued a policy of intensified repression. As a consequence, a number of Irish people became irreconcilable. A few months later the British government was driven to follow the path indicated by the Labor Party, but in the meantime the Lloyd George policy had created the Die-Hard Republicans. It was that policy which was responsible for the civil war which followed the Free State settlement.

The Free State Act marked a new stage in the Irish tragedy. Friend quarreled with friend, and brother with brother; and Ireland found herself plunged into the horrors of civil war. Men who had fought side by side against British domination were ranged in hostile camps. Efforts at reconciliation failed. The Free State government was sore beset. Arthur Griffith died suddenly; Michael Collins was shot by Irish Republicans. In order to maintain itself, the Free State government determined to suppress the armed revolt of the Die-Hard Republicans. The latter, on their side, did everything they could to hamper the government, and carried out a policy of destruction of roads, railways, bridges and buildings.

Irish affairs have invariably had a boomerang effect on British politics as the recent deportation of men and women from Britain to Ireland has illustrated. Besides a foe at home, the Free State government discerned a foe outside its jurisdiction in those men and women in Great Britain who had espoused the republican cause. It was alleged that people resident in England and Scotland were engaged in activities hostile to the Free State, that

* For a fuller account of Irish conditions and hopes at the time of the Home Rule Act see the special number of Survey Graphic on Ireland, December, 1921.

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they were in fact giving active help to the militant republicans in Ireland, and contemplating a campaign of violence in Britain itself, no doubt on the theory that the Free State administration was a puppet government carrying out the instructions of the British government. At the request of the Free State authorities over a hundred persons were arrested and deported to Ireland without trial. The legality of the British government's action was challenged in the law courts with the result that all the "deportees" had to be returned and released, though some of them have since been arrested for trial.

This interlude, which affects Great Britain rather than Ireland, has temporarily withdrawn attention from the position in the Free State. The most obvious effect of the civil war which has been waged in Ireland has not been so much the loss of life as the destruction of property and the paralysis which disorder has created in industry, trade and social life. The civil war has in many respects been a repetition of the struggle between the Sinn Feiners and the "Black and Tans." Indeed, there are republicans who accuse the Irish Free State of the same errors, excesses and barbarisms as were flung at the British forces during the old régime. How far these charges are true could only be ascertained by a thorough independent enquiry. It is, however, incontestable that bands of irregulars have committed acts of wanton destruction, and that deserters from the cause of militant republicanism have been shot out of hand. On the other hand, certain members of the Free State army have apparently behaved according to the traditions of the "Black and Tan."

THE Free State authorities and their supporters are confident that the end of the unfortunate internecine struggle is near at hand. On the other hand, many of the active republicans cherish the belief that the mass of people in southern Ireland are not behind the Free State government; that the army has suppressed freedom of expression; and that, if there could be a perfectly free election, the republicans would win. But the back of the military resistance is broken. Several of its more notable leaders have been shot or lie languishing in confinement. Large numbers of men and women —over ten thousand in all—concerned in hostilities against the Free State government or suspected of active participation in the militant movement have been swept into internment camps. Quantities of arms have been captured, and in the recent news is the discovery by the Free State of an elaborate bomb factory in the wilds of County Kerry. There seems little doubt that the military organization of the republicans is being relentlessly broken up and that organized resistance is gradually coming to an end. Sporadic resistance may continue for a time, but it appears that the termination of hostilities is now within sight.

The large body of Irish men and women which fought against British domination was rent in twain by the Anglo-Irish settlement, the larger section becoming adherents of the Free State. It is the minority which has challenged the settlement. It has put up a determined and desperate fight; but today it is a spent force. In other words, the "war" in Ireland is in its last phase. Mr. De Valera himself takes this view, for in a document issued over his name, and captured by the Free State government, he made the following statement to the republican soldiers:

> The republic can no longer be defended successfully by your arms. Further sacrifices on your part would now be in vain, and continuance of the struggle in arms unwise in the national interest. Military victory must be allowed to rest for the moment with those who have destroyed the republic. Other means must be sought to safeguard the nation's right.

De Valera's admission signifies the end of organized resistance. But this does not mean that the Free State will have left all its troubles behind. During its uneasy term of office, Mr. Cosgrave's government has been faced with the twofold task of overcoming armed resistance and establishing a system of administration. Even though it may have met with success as regards the former, it will still be left with the difficult problems of government and administration. Its legislature, Dail Eireann, is now in being; its departments of state are in process of evolution. But the Free State government will not tread the path of peace and prosperity until the psychology of violence has been rooted out and until the task of economic reconstruction is well advanced. So far as the former is concerned, there is no easy way. It must work itself out.

As regards the latter, it must be remembered that the later stages of the British occupation resulted in a serious disorganization of Ireland's economic life. Since then the armed resistance of the republicans has intensified the economic disintegration. Moreover, the maintenance of a large standing army and over ten thousand interned persons has imposed a heavy financial strain on the resources of the Free State. Notwithstanding the difficulties, economic reconstruction is a task well within the powers of the Irish people, provided peace is firmly established. Something of course will depend upon the character of the government which is in power. President Cosgrave and his supporters are endeavoring to found a sort of national party. Attempts are also being made to rally agrarian interests. The Labor Party is already efficiently organized, though it lacks leaders of public experience. If the agrarians succeed in attaining office there will be a conservative government in power, and economic recovery will come about slowly.

At the moment, the political future is obscure, and a few months may work many changes. The signs, however, point the opening of a new chapter in the tragic history of Ireland in which the Irish people will be called upon to grapple with the problems left by a period of British domination and an era of fratricidal strife.

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The Long Look Ahead

By EDWARD EYRE HUNT

FIFTEEN times within the last one hundred and ten years, American industry and commerce have basked in the up swing of prosperity and expansion and suffered in the following depths of depression and unemployment. What is this business cycle, and how does it affect us?

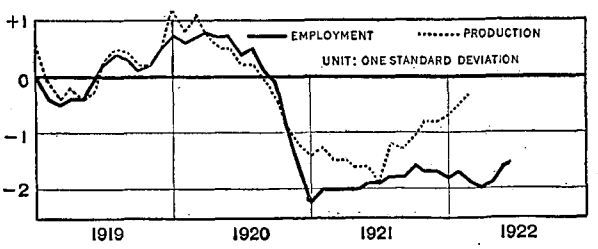
"Broadly, the business cycle is a constant recurrence of irregularly separated booms and slumps," says Herbert Hoover.

These booms and slumps are not something that hover over the world, unseen, for a certain length of time and then suddenly swoop down, bringing terror and destruction to all who come within the range of their wings. They are not outside forces but part of the daily, monthly, yearly routine of business itself.

The business slump in 1921 was an especially serious one, and the President called a conference on unemployment which met in Washington in September of that year to consider relief for the four or five million unemployed. During the formulation of emergency measures the conference advanced the proposal that an exhaustive investigation should be made of the whole problem of unemployment and of methods of stabilizing business and industry so as to prevent the vast waves of suffering in the valleys of the cycle.

The report of this committee [Business Cycles and Unemployment. McGraw-Hill Book Company. The fact-finding report on which the committee's recommendations are based was made under the direction of C. Wesley Mitchell and the National Bureau of Economic Research.] shows that in a typical cycle when business is reviving, there is increased volume of manufacturing, rising stock exchange prices followed by rising commodity prices, then by business expansion and increased demand for credit from both business men and speculators. As a result money rates stiffen, and credit gradually becomes strained; there may even be a sharp curtailment of credit for speculative purposes. Stock exchange prices then fall. During the resulting period of uncertainty, general business continues to increase unevenly, transportation facilities are overburdened and deliveries are delayed, while the apparent shortage of goods is intensified by speculative buying and duplication of orders until credit expansion nears its limit. Public confidence, which has been becoming more and more timid, is now thoroughly shaken, and this feeling of panic is expressed in numerous cancellations of orders, and followed by selling of stocks on hand and a sharp irregular fall of prices. Firms begin to be forced into bankruptcy, and widespread unemployment results.

However, contrary to popular opinion, these business cycles are neither regular in making their appearance nor do they have the same characteristics. They differ not only in length but also in violence and in the relative prominence of their manifestations. Professor Mitchell writes:



Adjusted indexes of industrial employment and production 1919-1922

These differences among business cycles arise from the fact that the business situation at any given moment is the net resultant of a complex of forces among which the rhythm of business activity is only one. Harvest conditions, domestic politics, changes in monetary and banking systems, international relations, the making of war or peace, the discovery of new industrial methods or resources, and a thousand other matters all affect the prospects of profits favorably or adversely, and therefore tend to quicken or slacken the pace of business. The fact that the rhythm of business activity can be traced in the net resultants produced by these many factors argues that it is one of the most constantly acting and probably one of the most powerful factors among them.

The cycle which ended in the depression of 1921 was unusual not only in the extent of the expansion, but also in the severity of the depression and the amount of unemployment. We are now well along in the upward swing of the next cycle, with the period of depression somewhere ahead of us. When that actually arrives, if men are laid off to an extent that makes unemployment serious, it will be too late for anything but relief measures. The report of the National Bureau of Economic Research aims to help us to take a long look ahead in order to eliminate not only the waste but also the suffering that comes from unemployment. It is divided into three parts:

I. The Relation of Unemployment to Business Cycles attempts to trace the actual occurrences in the business cycle and the economic losses, in the production of goods or income through data which show the production of the worst years as something like 15 per cent to 20 per cent behind the best. This section concludes:

> Certain intangibles of grave concern to social welfare are omitted from our estimates and cannot be inserted later by any process of correction. Privation, anxiety, loss of self-respect—the concomitants of unemployment—are evils not measurable in dollars, or percentages, or physical production.

II. Cyclical Fluctuations in Employment is the massing of a body of statistics regarding the rise and fall of employment in relation to the labor market, the course of production, the buying power of the wage-earners, and the cycle of social welfare, since—largely as a result of fluctuations in the economic prosperity of wage-earners—there are pronounced cycles of suicide, crime, prostitution, pauperism, marriages, migration and other social phenomena.

III. The third and largest part of the report deals with Proposed Remedies for Cyclical Unemployment, and includes chapters on methods of stabilizing production and distribution, the problem of "cancellations," long-range planning of public works, financial devices for controlling the business cycle, unemployment insurance and statistical indexes of business conditions and their use.

Acting on the basis of the facts found, the committee, under the chairmanship of Owen D. Young, chairman of the board of the General Electric Company, has prepared a plan of action. Ten recommendations are presented as remedial steps that might be taken by the business community to avoid such

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interruptions to prosperity and employment as bring hard times.

The first is the collection of fundamental data bearing upon the trend of business in each separate establishment, upon production, stocks, orders, consumption and employment. The report says:

What is evidently needed is an increase in the resources of the Department of Commerce and a larger degree of cooperation with the department in coordinating and extending business information, so that business men and bankers may know promptly the facts about the rate of production measured in physical units, the stocks on hand and in transit, the trend of prices, the volume of sales and the trend of money rates.

The second recommendation is an amplification of the first in that it urges a larger statistical service:

The connection and dissemination of statistics must be current, periodic and in comparable form for many industries. They should be uniform and continuous, and they should be collected officially since complete data rather than samples are necessary, and no private organization could have the authority to secure without interruption this basic information.

And the third recommendation goes further along the same line and urges the "recognition of the importance of economic research and the interpretation of economic facts" as the beginning of better control of business conditions by business men.

These efforts to understand the situation are all aimed at the possibility of controlling it, of preventing not only the depression and loss and suffering of the down swing, but also the dangerous inflation of the up curve—of flattening it out and making it more nearly a long, straight stretch of balanced supply and demand. To this end the report recommends that the bankers strive to control the dangerous extension of credit during the up curve, and also that the federal reserve system help in controlling inflation.

The determination of the time when business passes from the area of economically legitimate hazard to the area of economically illegitimate hazard, or when the proper use of capital for the expansion of production passes into the improper use for pyramiding prices, requires a large development of economic statistical information and agencies for its interpretation.

It recommends also that business men control the expansion of their own industries by planning production in advance and with reference to the business cycle, by laying out extensions of plant and equipment ahead of immediate requirements with the object of carrying them out in periods of depression and low prices, by accumulating financial reserves in prosperity and the maintenance of a long view of business problems rather than a short view in the interest of stabilization.

Great stress is laid on the importance of controlling both private and public construction so that they will not pile up at the moment when there is a great demand for both labor and capital, but will be held in reserve to relieve the unemployment of a slack season. Under this head are included not only the construction of buidings, but road building, the reclamation of arid lands and the improvement of waterways. These recommendations come at a critical time in view of the rapid cancellation of building contracts in various industrial centers which is being cried out against.

Holding back public works and private construction for periods of depression not only gives employment to large numbers of workers when it is most needed, but creates a demand for raw materials for construction which in turn stimulates other industries to offer employment. It maintains the buying power of those directly or indirectly employed, it creates a market for goods, and it enables the workers directly or indirectly employed to buy the product of other industries. Finally construction work in a period of industrial depression when costs are lower, is economical.

The report points out how important this is especially in the case of public utilities where, since the government regulates both earnings and rates, the cost of construction at the peak seasons cannot be met by any advance of prices.

The two final recommendations are designed to relieve unemployment where it actually does occur. They are:

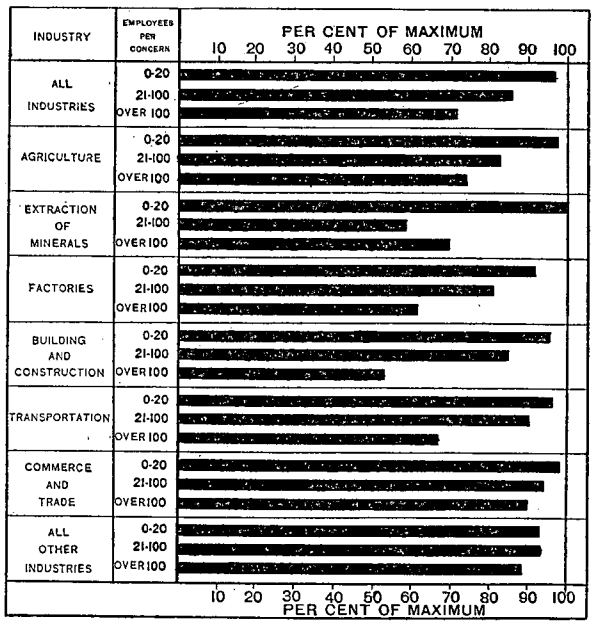
To provide reserve funds or savings during periods of prosperity from which the worker may draw during periods of compulsory unemployment. . . . Such plans of cooperative provision for relief against unemployment are not primarily designed to decrease the amount of unemployment but to alleviate its evil effects.

This is as near as the report comes to embodying compulsory unemployment insurance although it has an extremely interesting discussion of such experiments in it as have already been made.

On these accounts (the need of large-scale organization and the complex problems of administration) the committee feels that it must wait upon the experience to be gained from varied experimentation in the organization of such plans before attempting to recommend a definite program.

Its final recommendation is for a national system of employment bureaus. They do not expect that such a system will affect the coming or going of the business cycle itself but they should mitigate the suffering that results from it.

Any consideration of methods to control the business cycle, in the opinion of the committee, divides itself into two parts—first, methods of preventing excessive expansion, such as occurred in 1919 and 1920; and second, methods of reducing the extent of the decline and of alleviating the distress caused by the depression. Seasonal stabilization will be the subject of other studies.



Employment at the trough of the 1921 depression expressed as a percentage of the maximum in the 1920 boom, measured in total hours worked by all employes

The importance of the report and its significance to America's future prosperity and stability, regarding output and absorption of natural products and manufactures, and greater security of employment, can hardly be overestimated. Appraising its own work the committee concludes:

Unless business men, bankers and others who are responsible for policies and practices in industry, begin without delay to study and to act in order to meet the problem of unemployment and business cycles, solutions which may prove to be fundamentally unsound will be attempted without the benefit of practical experience. No problem before the business world today offers a more inspiring challenge to sound industrial leadership.

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NEIGHBORS

SHE was a music teacher, who shared in the support of her father's home—that traditional plain-living and high-thinking home of a New England idealist. There she met the notable preachers and reformers of the middle of the last century—she heard much of abolition, emancipation, woman's rights, non-resistance. Her marriage brought her into contact with the best liberal traditions of Europe, through a family which fled Germany to escape the reaction after 1848; incidentally it gave her the position of a great lady, the wife of one of the greatest American financiers of his day. She lived abroad for many years; she attended brilliant court functions and met the rich and great of two continents. But the wider opportunities which came with wealth and worldly position served only to advance her interest in and work for those truly American liberal causes with which, at nearly eighty, her name still is closely linked.

Such is the romantic outline of the "career" of Mrs. Henry Villard, whose long and active life runs so closely parallel to the traditions of social liberalism in America. As Fanny Garrison, the daughter of William Lloyd Garrison, she adopted in childhood the tenets of peace and of racial and sex equality which she has supported with unfailing generosity and courage in a score of different ways, and now sees carried on in the work of her son. During a residence abroad in their early married life, Mr. and Mrs. Villard took an active part in the organization of the first lycée for women in Berlin; later, upon returning to New York, she was deeply interested in the founding and development of Barnard College; and since its reincorporation in 1908 she has been a trustee of the Constantinople College for Women in Turkey. For forty-three years Mrs. Villard has been a member of the board of the New York Infirmary for Women and Children, founded by those pioneer women physicians Emily and Elizabeth Blackwell, and the first hospital in this country solely for women and children and for the training of women physicians. When woman suffrage was still an issue, this gentle-faced little old lady in a black bonnet pleaded its cause on many platforms, and worked with the committee of national, state and local suffrage associations. Just thirty-one years after her father addressed the same body on the same subject, she appeared at a legislative hearing in Boston to urge the enfranchisement of women.

Mrs. Henry Villard

William Lloyd Garrison founded the first Non-Resistant Society in Boston in 1838. His daughter has worked in this country and abroad for half a century, through a series of organizations which began with the New York Peace Society in 1877 and culminated in the founding of the Women's Peace Society in 1919, to stress those principles of non-resistance which she felt fundamental to the peace movement and which she did not find represented clearly enough in the older associations. Mrs. Villard acted as a delegate at the Hague in 1907; in 1921, when the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom called a conference in Vienna, she addressed the great assemblage of the delegates of twenty-two countries.

A score of other good causes and their institutions have Mrs. Villard to thank for her personal and financial support—hospitals at Tarrytown and Dobbs Ferry, the Columbus Hill Day Nursery for Negro Children, the Babies' Welfare Association (now the Children's Welfare Association) which she served as honorary president, the Froebel Kindergarten, all of New York, and many musical organizations and music students in whom she has always been deeply interested through her own love of music. Most closely associated with her name and efforts, however, is the New York Diet Kitchen Association, on the board of which she has served for more than forty years, for twenty-five as its president.

When Mrs. Villard became president of the association it was still in the category of Lady Bountiful charities. Through it, in large part by members of the board who donned unwonted aprons and dispensed beef-tea, gruel, milk and other sick-room dainties, food was given to the sick poor on requisition of physicians. The work was carried on in a series of "kitchens," for the most part the basements of dispensaries, which could be obtained rent-free. As charity became "social work," the association evolved. It moved out of the basements and paid rent, to obtain fresh air and sunlight. Gruel and beef-tea were supplanted almost entirely by milk, and the work was centered on the tuberculous and on babies in special need of pure and properly prepared food. In 1901 the association entered the fight for a clean milk supply for New York, throwing its influence on the side of prevention as well as cure. Four years later a systematic plan was adopted to instruct the mothers in the proper care of their children when they came for the milk, and by 1909 this instruction developed into regular "baby conferences" at the milk stations, at which doctors and nurses of the Department of Health presided. About that time also the association changed its policy radically, and began to sell the milk at cost to those who could pay. The original "kitchens" now are full-fledged health stations; their list of activities includes prenatal care, baby welfare conferences, supervision of preschool children, demonstrations for mothers at the centers and in their homes, home visiting by nurses and their assistants, and the dispensing of milk—687,530 quarts of it in 1921! In one district an experiment is being made in the community support of a doctor and nursing service, for which each family is to pay fifty cents a month. No more

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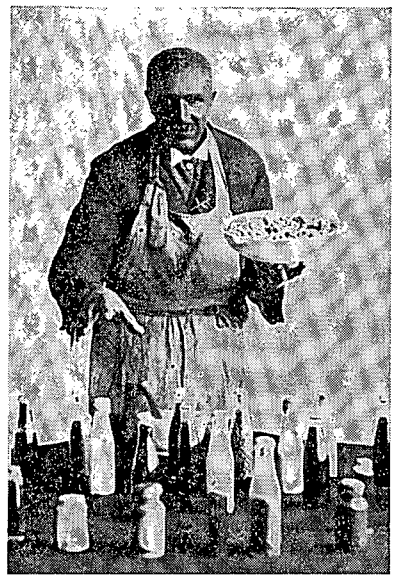
fitting symbol can be found of Mrs. Villard's own sure and widening efforts for social betterment than the development of the New York Diet Kitchen Association during the quarter century of her leadership.

FIFTEEN Belgian girls, teachers in service, have been studying at Columbia University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology this past winter. The educational foundation which grew out of the American relief work in Belgium—formed, in fact, to use the surplus funds accumulated by judicious trade operations from the original American gift—adopted as part of its program the training of teachers in health in order to conserve the lives that had been saved by the earlier relief activities. Sally Lucas Jean, director of the health education division of the American Child Health Association, with Fanneal Harrison, last year chose the candidates for health education fellowships to American institutions and brought them to the United States. Interviews with some of these students by Lee Weiss, before their return to Europe, indicate the value of this training, with its field work at hospitals, clinics, settlements and schools, to teachers from a country that is just awakening to modern methods of child care. Miss Weiss writes:



Professor Carver, of Tuskegee

Yvonne Caesens, of blond hair and blue eyes, lives on the edge of Flanders Field. She has a complete plan of what she intends to do. She is a teacher in one of the country colonies for debilitated children of which there are quite a number in Belgium. When a child is found to be under weight, he is sent to such a colony for three months or longer. Twelve thousand children are thus cared for every year. "But think of it," said Yvonne, "no attempt has been made to interest the child in his own health record or habits—often he goes away to undo the good that has been done. We teach the children while they are there a lot about sickness. They should be taught about health. I want to start showing the American idea of teaching health in a very simple way, through games and dramatic plays. I want to install health clubs.

"Of course the work will not be simple. If we say to people, 'drink lots of water,' we shall have to see to it that the water is boiled, as we do not everywhere have filtered water as in America. If we say, 'drink milk,' we shall have to find ways to have it pasteurized."

To petite Miss Mayné, a kindergarten teacher of children who for the most part are suffering from rickets, corrective gymnastics is the realm that has opened up large possibilities. "When you are not trained," she explained, "you can't see slight defects in children's bones and spines. When the defects are noticeable and you see them it is often too late to correct them. I have only got a general idea of corrective gymnastics this winter, but I have been shown how I can develop my knowledge from study and practice. I think we all learned more here from visiting schools and seeing theories put into practice than we did from anything else. The inspiring thing here is the co-operation between the home, the doctor and the school."

Yvonne Nevejan, whose work is in the bureau of vocational guidance for war orphans, has made an investigation of vocational work in America, and intends now to urge vocational guidance for all children in Belgium.

Julienne de Haen during her work in New York has organized a nutrition class at the Educational Alliance. She has ideas of her own on the regular weighing of children, on hot school lunches, on recreation work.

Julia Desmet and Josephine Koole, who are roommates, lay stress on the pioneering yet to be done in Belgium. Julia has taken special courses in physical training and agreed with the other girl who said: "In Belgium the schools have Swedish gymnastics—very formal; they need the free gymnastics, the free play and the free dancing." "If young people can be heard in America," she added, "why then perhaps they can also be heard in Europe." Miss Koole has been a teacher in an open air school near Ostend —one of the schools, she explained, where weak children are sent for two weeks or a month at a time. They are given their lessons regularly, but their health is the most important consideration. Yet, "we give the children proper foods but don't make them conscious of what things they ought to eat. I never imagined the teaching of health habits could be made as easy as it is here. We teachers have never had it shown to us. I can hardly wait to take home the gay posters and charts I have collected. And it is not only in the fresh air schools that they are needed. I'll tell you," she stuttered with embarrassment, "nowhere in Belgium do you see healthy children!"

The most experienced in field work among this group of student teachers is Delphine Borginon, a Red Cross nurse, at present a supervisor in the national child welfare work. "What impresses me most in America," she said, "is the education of mothers in maternity centers. I also think the idea of the day nursery schools is a good one. We have day nurseries in Belgium where we take care of children, but we don't teach them to take care of themselves. Almost all our work with mothers and children started during the war. The problem then was to feed them and keep them alive. Now the task is to turn relief into education. We need trained workers to effect this. We want schooling."

"I want to be like the Health Fairy," exclaimed Marie Weil. With her vivid face and manner and her position with the Junior Red Cross it is apparent that she will be able to touch the imagination of children. Josette Delgoffe seems to have similar thoughts. "To go to school just for lessons," she says, "is not to be happy. That is what the children do in Belgium. We have more recess time than you do, but we don't know how to play."

Fernande Spanoghe, daughter of an officer killed in the war, did family casework in New York. She has plans for disseminating modern ideas on the improvement of living conditions.

"WHAT are we farmers going to do for a money crop? The boll weevil is about to ruin us," has been the cry from all over the South. And the answer comes from a Negro scientist—George Washington Carver, of Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, a dreamer, artist, inventor, scientist, who for twenty-seven years, slowly, patiently and scientifically has worked in the laboratory at Tuskegee to bring forth the resources latent in the native products of the South—resources which if fully utilized would free the South from bondage to cotton.

From the sweet potato, a crop on which the southern farmer can depend for a satisfactory yield one year after another, he has made flour, meal, starch, library paste, mock cocoanut, breakfast foods, preserved ginger, vinegar,

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ink, shoe blacking, coffee, chocolate compound and a hundred other products. From the peanut he makes milk that compares favorably in nutritive value with cow's milk, and numerous other foods, as well as dyes from the hulls and skins. He has made potash from chinaberry ashes, paper from okra fiber, rope from cottonstalk fiber, artificial silk from poplar bark—these are a few of the more than three hundred products he has evolved from despised materials.

And the rich and useful salvage he has wrung from everyday materials is not more wonderful than the career he has achieved in spite of more than common handicaps and difficulties. He was born at the end of the Civil War of slave parents on the plantation of a Missouri planter, Moses Carver. While he was still a young child he was kidnapped by raiders, and it was only at the cost of a good race horse that Mr. Carver was able to recover him. Speaking of his early life, Professor Carver says: "When just a tot I thirsted for knowledge. I literally lived in the woods. I wanted to know what was in every stone and plant, and to learn about every beast, insect and bird. My only book was an old Webster's speller, which I almost knew by heart. I had a secret garden far off in the woods where I took sick plants and would soon have them blooming again.

"When I was ten years old I went to Neosho, a little town about eight miles away, to go to school." Then began the struggle for an education. He begged passage on a wagon going to Fort Scott, Kansas, and worked in private families as cook and did laundry work until he had finished high school. He passed entrance examinations to a college in Iowa, but was not received because he was a Negro. As he had spent nearly all his money, he opened a laundry to earn a living. Later he went to cook in a hotel, and some white friends who had been won to him by his unusual singing voice encouraged him to go on with his college course. Simpson College at Indianola, Iowa, was his next choice. "I opened a laundry here for my college support," he says. "After all my matriculation fees had been paid, I had left 10 cents to live upon. I bought 5 cents worth of corn meal, and the other 5 cents I spent for beef suet. I lived on these two things for one whole week—it took that long for the people to learn that I wanted clothes to wash. After that week I had many friends and plenty of work.

"After finishing my bachelor's degree I was elected to the faculty and given charge of the greenhouse, bacteriological laboratory and the laboratory work in systematic botany. Later Mr. Booker T. Washington offered me a post at Tuskegee, and I have been there for twenty-seven years."

Professor Carver's interest in art led him to experiment with the clays of his native county, from which he has developed paints whose luminous quality and soft colors are not equaled by oils. He believes that in this discovery is the secret of the lasting colors of the potteries of Egypt.

He is slight of stature, with a quick smile and a soft voice that rises to a high pitch and falls alternately. He has been made a Fellow of the Royal Society, and in spite of the handicap of his race is listened to with respect by the business men of the South who look to him to bring prosperity with his "new agriculture."

MASSACHUSETTS, one of the three states with a department which has power to assist local planning boards, has been handicapped by the fact that it had no field worker. With authority recently granted by the legislature, Edward T. Hartman has been appointed on housing and town planning. Mr. Hartman's duties will include helping the local planning boards in their problems, encouraging the formation of new boards, and general educational and publicity work.

An Apostle of Civic Craftsmanship

James Parton Haney, the recently deceased director of art in the high schools of New York, believed in raising standards of living by fostering pride in manual work. Born and educated in New York City, he gave up a medical career to teach drawing and manual arts in the public schools. When the city's high school system was established, each school had its art department; but the work was unrelated. Dr. Haney was called to systematize art teaching in the high schools and for fourteen years devoted all his energies to this work. He became the moving spirit of the School Art League, founded in 1911 to foster interest in the teaching of art in the public schools. The ideals for which the league stands and which have spread all over the country were occasionally expressed by Dr. Haney in verse of which these two poems are representative. A memorial volume, containing the poems and a biography, has been published by the league.

A CRAFTSMAN'S CREED

I hold with none who think not work a boon,
Vouchsafed to man that he may aid his kind
With offerings from his chisel, wheel or loom
Fashioned with loving hand and loving mind.
All of the fine traditions and the skill,
Come from my elders through the long line down,
Are mine to use, to raise our craft's renown,
And mine to teach again with reverent will.
Thus do I live to serve, though least for pay,
With fingers which are masters of the tool,
And eyes which light to see the pattern's play,
As it unfolds, obedient to each rule
Of our dear Art. So all my craft is praise
To God—at once part homage and part song.
My work's my prayer, I sing the whole day long,
As Faith and Beauty shape the forms I raise.

CIVIC CONSCIOUSNESS

What is it makes my city—not her towers,
Her marts or wharves, her teeming tenements.
These be but parts, something transcends them all,
A spirit thing—an essence, genius, soul—
Which wakens through her moil to consciousness,
And whispers to her peoples, that she lives.
All those that love her she bids band themselves
To work together that she gain in grace,
To work together that she stand secure,
'Gainst evils which would rob her of her fame;
To work, until each worker comes to see
Her very self as builded not of stone,
But a vast structure made of conscious clay
And dumbly voiceless only to the dumb.
This living thing, my city seems to me—
So proud she stands—so splendid on her hills.

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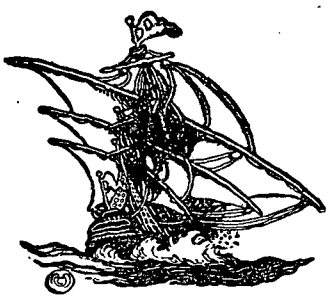

EDITORIALS

THE creation of a political democracy on the American continent was but the first step toward that social democracy with which today, in every part of Europe, the name of America is associated. There are other republics in the world, and some of them are older than ours. But they are lacking the factor that has given distinction to America's contribution—the self-government of a great nation made up of many races and peoples. It is fitting, therefore, that this unity in diversity should, especially in our large cities, be taken up more and more as a leading motive in the celebration of Independence Day. A correspondent who took part in such a celebration at Cleveland writes:

> In that procession of new Americans who marched up the aisle to be welcomed into the citizenship, I particularly remember a Polish laborer marching side by side with a Scotsman who looked like a professor or lawyer.
>
> There was visible pride on the faces of some of these "Polacks" when, after the ceremony, they picnicked with their families and friends in the near-by park; the docility for which construction foremen prefer them to men of some other races for once gave way to a sense of human dignity.

In the speeches and pageants and articles that deal with the "loyalty" of the Americans of foreign stock there is often a fundamental psychological error. Their patriotism does not, and cannot, consist in a mere exchange of one loyalty for another—it is decidedly not such an exchange that has made possible the genesis of this republic of the New World—but in the enlargement of the sense of loyalty. The Italian or Hungarian who becomes an American citizen does not on that account prefer to work and live with native Americans rather than those of his own race, though he will gradually learn to do so. He does not prefer Emerson to Mazzini in his reading or pot roast to goulash in his diet, though he may try both. Politically, he has become a citizen of the U. S. A.—but much more significant for the future of America and of the world is that socially he has added to our great brotherhood the tastes and desires that genuinely arise from his personal character and experience; he has found his place in a nation in which nationality is not foreign to inter-racial and international good will and mutual aid.

THERE may be a little too much self-advertisement for the present administration of the city in New York's "Silver Jubilee" exposition; but there is no serious harm in that. There may be a little too much of the "realtor's" superlatives in the advertisement of the less developed sections of Greater New York by their respective borough presidents; but who will blame them for that? All in all, it is a magnificent exhibit of a great city's government and machinery for rendering service, and Mayor Hylan is quite right in saying that a permanent museum explaining and illustrating the life and administration of a modern municipality would fulfill a valuable educational function. It would have to be a museum on rather different lines from those to which we are accustomed—one with only a relatively small nucleus of permanent exhibits of historical importance and most of the space reserved for a constantly renewed and amended exhibit of current material.

Mayor Hylan's exposition is noteworthy for the admirable use made of the most up-to-date technical devices for making the exhibits graphic and for emphasizing the most important elements in a mass of secondary data (as, for instance, in the huge map of the city with lights of different colors switched on in rotation to show the location of the properties of various city departments). Here also, museum administrators might learn something from the example of temporary expositions: The additional cost for models, lights, etc., might seem extravagant at first; but is it not more extravagant to spend large sums on the upkeep and completion of collections which, for the average citizen, and especially for the child, are lacking in the prime essentials of good visual instruction? And lastly, must we wait for such special occasions as this jubilee to have the most important element—the human—put on exhibition with the rest? A large parade, demonstrating in mass the human factor of a great enterprise, can of course only be had on rare occasions; but all our museums might do more than they do now to replace wax models, at least on occasion, by living human figures, to substitute word of mouth explanations for labels, and to give exhibitions of working as well as of works.

ACCORDING to Professor Lescohier [see page 376] a majority of American seasonal harvest workers acquiesce in the argument that wages must be conditioned by the prosperity of the industry in which wage-earners are engaged even though these wages may be out of harmony with those paid in other industries for similar effort. This idea survives in agriculture while is has long since been thrown out of court in economic discussion with respect, say, to the automobile industry or the building trades. And it is a very dangerous argument, from a social point of view, in so far as it may obscure a situation in which the employers and workers in the most essential industry are exploited by the rest of the people. In England, for instance, the inability of an industry to pay a living wage has long been disregarded as an argument for sweating, and elaborate machinery has been constructed to compel employers to pay such a wage or go out of business. Yet, it is only a few weeks ago that the minister of agriculture, in reply to a question put to him in the House of Commons as to why wage boards for agricultural laborers could not immediately be reestablished, explained that "the only way to help the laborer is to increase the prosperity of the industry as a whole."

The same language, as the Manchester Guardian points out, was employed a century ago when factory workers demanded a living wage. As a matter of fact, the farm

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laborer's wage is not regulated, either in England or in America, by the relative prosperity of farming. Professor Lescohier shows what the influences are that keep wages in one part of a state below those paid in another part; they have nothing to do with the profits earned or anticipated by the farmers. "It would be truer to say," states the Guardian, "that the only way to increase the prosperity of the industry as a whole is to help the laborer. Sweating spoils farming not only because it tells on the vigor and energy of the laborer but also because it discourages the intelligence and enterprise of the farmer and sets a low standard of work-expectation for all who are engaged in the industry." This, of course, is much truer of agricultural labor in Europe than it is here, and of permanent than of seasonal labor on the land. Yet the fact remains that, unorganized as regards distribution of available labor supplies and unstandardized as regards wages, American farming runs up too high costs for its harvest labor while a majority of those who engage in it have very little to put into the savings banks when the season is over. The investigation carried out by a staff of trained men and women under Professor Lescohier for the United States Bureau of Agriculture affords a more solid basis of facts than any hitherto available for a more intelligent employment planning for the wheat belt, a planning comparable to that which in recent years has characterized the fruit and vegetable crop gathering of California.

A MUCH denounced institution has just been knocked out with an extremely dangerous weapon; and the feelings of students of industrial relations are correspondingly mixed.

In a test case, the United States Supreme Court has declared that the Kansas Industrial Court, established under former Governor Allen, has no power to fix wages in the plant of the Charles Wolff Packing Company. Both the friends and enemies of the court have been nervously watching the course of this case before taking action; now it would seem that the opponents of the court at least might be at peace. Those comfortably placed folk who regard all strikes as evils, and those irritated interests which saw in the Kansas court a new stick to keep the under-dog down, and itched to lay hold of it in other states, will be correspondingly put out.

For it has been the Kansas court's power to compel arbitration and to enforce its decisions in industrial disputes which in its judgment affect the public interest, that has provoked opposition among employers and employees alike. At the outset of his opinion Chief Justice Taft said:

> The necessary postulate of the Industrial Court Act is that the state representing the people is so much interested in their peace, health and comfort, that it may compel those engaged in the manufacture of food and clothing and the production of fuel, whether owners or workers, to continue in their business or employment on terms fixed by an agency of the state if they cannot agree.

It was Governor Davis' pledge to abolish the court because of its power to compel industrial arbitration which played a large part in electing him last fall. It is over this phase of the situation that Samuel Gompers is now jubilant. He says:

> Labor is glad to see the Kansas law fall by the wayside. Labor maintained at the outset that the Kansas law was in violation of the constitution because it imposed compulsory labor. And the Charles Wolff Packing Company complained that it imposed in effect compulsory employment!

Some economists will regret the lapse of an interesting experiment, which in its failures no less than in its accomplishments provided revealing data as to the dynamics of industrial relations. In its reliance on state compulsion to force a bargain between employer and employe the Kansas Act, however, ran counter at once to our democratic notions and our most constructive industrial experience. It was calculated to shunt the uninformed public eager for easy solutions, onto a false lead. On the whole it is well to have the court shelved; but how about the means by which the shelving was done?

The act which created the court in 1920 declared five sorts of business to be affected with a public interest: first the manufacture and preparation of food for human consumption; second, the manufacture of clothing for human wear; third, the production of any substance in common use for fuel; fourth, transportation of the foregoing; fifth, public utilities and common carriers. But Justice Taft says:

> It has never been supposed since the adoption of the constitution that the business of the butcher, or the baker, the tailor, the wood chopper, the mining operator or the miner, was clothed with such a public interest that the price of his product or his wages could be fixed by state regulation.

Even under ordinary circumstances it is admitted that the railroads and the public utilities are clothed with such a public interest, and there seems to be authority for admitting that in the face of "great, temporary public emergencies" food, fuel and clothes may become the concern of the government—but of course not right along every day. It is allowable to wonder whether the Supreme Court is trying to establish an alibi for the constitution, to build up an increasing number of things which under the law are none of the government's business. There is the child-labor law and the minimum wage law for women, and now this decision!

> To say that a business is clothed with a public interest is not to determine what regulation may be permissible in view of the private rights of the owner. . . . the extent to which regulation may reasonably go varies with different kinds of business. The regulation of rates to avoid monopoly is one thing. The regulation of wages is another . . . . There is no monopoly in the preparation of foods.

And so, except in "great, temporary, public emergencies," the Supreme Court disclaims all government responsibility as to how we are fed and clothed and warmed. So far as the courts are concerned, these three great fields of human activity are not affected with a reckonable public interest; and instead of a decision which might open the way to some more creative experiment in controlling or conducting production for the benefit of the people, we have this backing away from the problem:

> We think the Industrial Court Act, in so far as it permits the fixing of wages in plaintiff in error's *packing house,* is in conflict with the Fourteenth Amendment and deprives it of its property and liberty of contract without due process of law.

GENERALLY speaking there is a tendency in America to exaggerate the value for social progress of inventiveness. We are too apt to look to some mechanical innovation as a solution of problems that have long pursued humanity. But occasionally this faith in invention receives a justification difficult to explain for those who look to ethical impulse and gradual application of sound theory to practical efforts for social betterment as the more trustworthy factors. This happens when a great inventor is at the same time something of a social philosopher and something of an artist. Such a man is Luther Burbank whose jubilee has just been celebrated with unusual unanimity not only in California where he

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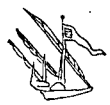
has lived and worked for forty-seven years but throughout the country. Mr. Burbank does not believe that it is enough to make the soil bear more or larger fruit and leave the feeding of humanity to the caprices of the law of supply and demand. Nor does he believe that quantity—either of product or of human propagation made possible by that product—is the thing that counts for most. His art, for it is art, has added to the bounty of nature new varieties of vegetables and fruits—and, not to forget, flowers—that have enriched human experience and raised with the material standard of living the standard of taste that makes for more varied and individualized demand. Himself an exponent of what discrimination can do in the singling out and propagation of useful traits, he is an educator of discrimination in others. Himself a keen observer of variation from the norm and appreciative of variety, he has become also a trainer of the faculty of observation in others. Mr. Burbank's inventions are not clever tricks let loose upon the world to cause good or ill but the result of painstaking labor, often extending over years of application to complicated and detailed tasks. An opponent of socialism, which he connects with efforts to establish uniformity in outlook and fortune, he believes in mutual aid as the greatest motive force of progress.

SHOULD an immigration commissioner have a heart? Some of the newspapers that have discussed the resignation of Robert E. Tod from the commissionership in New York and his replacement by Major Henry H. Curran evidently think he should. They believe that Mr. Tod's difficulties with the "politicians" which he gives as a cause for his resignation are altogether due to his insistence on carrying out the immigration law rigidly and without making sufficient use of those powers of review and dealing with exceptional cases which Congress has vested in him and in the secretary of labor. Mr. Tod, though he has not yet told the whole story, evidently has had enough of appeals to his heart—appeals made as a rule not on behalf of unfortunates who are desirable immigrants but have no friends to plead for them, but on behalf of immigrants whose friends have a pull in Washington and often belong to categories clearly intended by Congress to be excluded. Any one with ordinary common sense could foresee—and indeed many did foretell—that the quota law would lead to intense individual hardship and anguish. When a purely mathematical formula is clapped on a movement so charged with meaning in the lives of individuals as coming to a new country, there is bound to be suffering; there are bound to be sensational cases and frequent outcries against the unfortunate official who is charged with the administration of such a system.

No one who has watched Mr. Tod's work on Ellis Island will contend that he has not endeavored to carry out his task efficiently, considerately and humanely. It was not his fault that, as was pointed out in The Survey for May 15, conditions on the island, in spite of all protests, in spite of the appointment of an expert commission by Commissioner Husband and a report of practical recommendations by it more than a year ago, have remained practically what they were two years ago. Conditions that have been permitted to exist for years because those affected by them were only a few "dirty dagoes" have become intolerable to the public mind now that all sorts of respectable people of all sorts of races are subjected to them after the exhaustion of the quota from their respective countries. At the present time, for instance, Germany is the only country that has not filled its quota for the current year; and among the residents of the island are men and women and children from English-speaking countries who, whatever may be the fact of the case, in sentiment do not look upon themselves and are not looked upon by Americans as "aliens" or foreigners in the same sense in which swarthy-looking people from the east and south of Europe are so regarded. These are human realities which no legislation that is trying to be equitable and democratic can quite meet; and it is clear that both Congress and public opinion demand very generous and flexible interpretation of the restriction law so that differences that may not be acknowledged in statutes may nevertheless be recognized in fact. In so far as this is the case, and the alleged interference of politicians and others not due to corruption, popular sympathies will be against rather than with Mr. Tod's evident insistence on rigorous enforcement of the law.

Mr. Curran brings to the task a much more intimate knowledge of our immigrant population, epitomized in Manhattan, where his standing as an official and a reformer are such as to create an anticipation that he will neither knuckle in to the politicians nor knuckle out to human considerations.



PERHAPS the most remarkable phenomenon in the world today is the absence of serious riots in Germany, the rapid suppression of the few spasmodic insurrections that are taking place. For Germany is not a country in which the living generation has either memory or family traditions of misery and starvation on such a scale as exist today. It is not a country of low standards as regards the essentials of civilized life where the disappearance of a few more items from the budget of the average family might be allowed to pass without serious emotional disturbance. On the contrary, it is a land where cleanliness of person and of home, hunger for knowledge as well as for material food, regard for appearance, family and social obligations have been cultivated to a high degree. In this country today citizens by the tens of thousands must see their aged parents go to the workhouse, their children starve, their children's institutions milkless, their charities go out of business, their municipalities unable to cope with the prime necessities of civic decency. What the recent new fall in the value of the mark has meant, does mean, in additional suffering, disorganization, demoralization, will not be fully known for some time. In the meantime, facts and figures now at hand show that even last spring a point was reached which in many other countries would have meant the dissolution of organized society.

The following facts are gleaned from two publications not primarily intended for foreign consumption, a report of the German Red Cross and a statistical and descriptive statement by the mayor of Berlin:

In Berlin 70 per cent of the dwellings—in some wards 80 per cent—today consist of three rooms (including kitchen); only 10 per cent have five rooms or more. Two hundred thousand families seeking homes in the quarter October-December, 1922, could not be placed, and there has been an enormous increase in the occupancy of barracks and all sorts of makeshift shelters as well as congestion through sharing of existing apartments.

The number of suicides in Berlin has increased by one-fifth in one year, deaths from bronchitis, influenza, etc. by one-third, the tuberculosis death-rate by one-fifth.

In Frankfort, one-third of the public school graduates are physically below the standards required for work certificates.

In Cologne the proportion of children suffering from rachities has increased from 14.7 per cent in 1921 to 25.4 per cent in 1922; from 50 to 60 per cent of the school population are undernourished.

Last November, between one quarter and one-third of the population of one of the Berlin wards were given public relief.

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Half a year ago, two-thirds of the children in Thuringia possessed only one outer garment and three-quarters of them only one pair of shoes—most of these in very poor condition.

The city of Berlin last year appropriated four and a half billion marks for its public health department; nevertheless many institutions have had to be closed and thousands of tuberculous and other patients in the city could not be received for treatment.

In 46 cities with a population of 100,000 or more, the number of births in 1922 as compared with 1921 increased by 16,753 and the number of deaths by 29,876.

That the structure of German society has held through this stress, to date, and not gone down in chaos, is an index of those qualities in the people which, overshadowed by the war, are the one sure thing on which to tie hope for the future of Central Europe.

ANOTHER subject that will come up at the September session of the League of Nations Assembly is that of obscene publications. As long ago as 1910, an international conference at Paris, called by the French government, drafted an agreement for international exchange of information on this subject which was subsequently signed by fifteen countries. It was stated at that time that an appreciable part of the trade in obscene publications was international in character and could not be eliminated except through international cooperation. The difficulty of international action in such a matter as this was shown, however, by the inability of all the countries interested to adopt the uniform law drafted by the conference. At the instigation of the British government, another effort is now to be made, through the agency of the League, to get something practical done in the matter. The original convention with a request for suggestions of amendments has gone to all the member nations, and a report will probably be laid before the assembly before it is asked to take action.

The chief difference between the situation in 1910 and now probably is the enormous increase in the moving picture industry which, in its international aspects, leaves the exchange of printed publications in the shadow as regards its potentiality for demoralization. For instance, correspondents in South America complain that the United States send there large quantities of films which would not be tolerated by the police in any of our cities but which the power of the police in the South American cities and the somewhat different public opinion in such matters there does not enable social reformers to have suppressed.

THE extraordinary variety of moral judgment that can exist on books, pictures or plays in which sex is discussed was shown the other day by the successful prosecution in New York of the managers and actors engaged in the production of Sholom Ash's drama, The God of Vengeance. Quite clearly, such a play does not only appeal differently to public audiences in different countries but also to different audiences in the same country; it was one thing perhaps on Second Avenue and quite another on Broadway. To know whether such a play is obscene, it is not enough to apply an abstract standard, such as a college of theologians might construct, but one would have to know what effect it would be likely to produce on a given audience. Many high school and college teachers know that the Greek and Latin classics can be reduced to a procession of obscene images in a class of sniggering youths if the wrong influences happen to be in the lead among them. As regards this play by Ash, it may be interesting to recall what the reviewer in The Survey said of it when it was published in 1918:

To most of us the dramatic justice which slays the slayer or pays the sinner in kind the moment he has become conscious of his sin is perhaps a little primitive. Our modern drama reflects a more subtle sense of destiny. The Yiddish theater, however, exists for a less sophisticated public and is able to make an appeal almost Sophoclean in its simplicity and directness. . . . From material similar to that which forms the subject-matter of Brieux's best known works, the Yiddish playwright has produced a piece of literature entirely unlike and, on its own plane, without equal. . . . Not only a noteworthy drama but also an intense bit of social propaganda.

THE trained foreign investigator is an asset to social reform in any country. Naively unaware of implications charged with meaning for the citizen, without an axe to grind, and therefore afforded access to all sources, bent only on finding out facts and causes, he often treads in softly among the rushing angels and demons of propaganda. Two such visitors have just returned to their own country after traveling all over the United States to inquire into the working of national prohibition; they are N. A. De Vries, a member of the cabinet of the province of Groningue, Holland, and P. Van Der Meulen, president of the Dutch Society for the Abolition of Alcoholic Drinks. They have published their principal finding as follows:

While we have recognized that prohibition is not perfectly observed or enforced any more than the Ten Commandments are perfectly observed or your laws against stealing or murder are perfectly enforced, yet by way of contrast with Continental Europe it was plainly apparent that prohibition is already a thorough, practical success, with every indication that it is becoming more willingly observed and more effectively enforced.

One thing, however, which, it seems, the average American who believes in prohibition and is interested in the fight to abolish the saloons is ignorant of, is that the liquor interests are apparently very busy in an attempt to regain control. It seems to us that you people are complacently letting the liquor people rob you of the great benefits of your dry law—benefits which perhaps are more apparent to outsiders than to yourselves.

After studying enforcement and public opinion in twenty-five of the states, these two students have come to the conclusion that the Eighteenth Amendment will never be repealed and the Volstead Act will not be changed. They are astonished, however, that Americans who have a reputation for thoroughness and quickness in action, should waste so much time before building up a really effective enforcement program.

NOT long ago we commented on the criticism that artists and illustrated magazines were portraying rural life in America too much on its discouraging and dreary side. This subject was taken by C. J. Galpin, of the United States Department of Agriculture, before a meeting of the American Federation of Arts the other day. He said:

Artists the world over continue to make the farmer the man with the hoe. The hoe age in agriculture is closed. The hoe farmer may still be found here and there, but his day is done. For the past fifty years there has been a titanic struggle in America to take the hoe out of farming, to take the hoe manner of living, the hoe school, the hoe church. Machine farming has replaced hoe farming. Agricultural science has transformed farming from a traditional craft to a creative process.

Mr. Galpin invited the artists of America to express this newer conception of farming not only in symbolical works but also in architecture.

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Harvest Days

(*Continued from page* 382)

stituted a third of the laborers without permanent places of residence. Nearly all of these immigrants had been in the United States more than ten years; many of them more than twenty years and yet they had failed to establish any permanent residence here.

Seven out of each ten harvesters interviewed were experienced men. About a fifth of them had worked in ten or more harvests. There are a large number of mechanics, factory hands, oil field workers and other citizens of the cities and towns in or near the wheat belt who annually get "the harvest fever." The whole area is vibrant with harvest excitement. Men are passing through every town to the harvest. The newspapers feature harvest stories and the farmers' appeals for labor, and the trains are thronged with the overall army. It is, "Bill and Jack are going. Guess I will, too."

"Each year I swear I'll never harvest again," said one old veteran, "but when the binders begin, I'm a damn fool all over again. A fellow loses too much time during the harvest to make money, and I know it. But I can't resist. The excitement of the harvest season gets me. I have to go." "The harvest is a habit," said another, "and a hard habit to break."

IN most of the important industries of the United States, wages are no longer determined by the free action of the forces of supply and demand. The mid-western wheat harvest is unique among our large industrial enterprises in this respect. Over an area of one thousand miles long and three hundred miles wide the price of labor is determined by the natural market forces. A harvest hand who started at Fort Worth, Texas, in 1921 had a wage of $2.50 a day; obtained $3.50 or $4.00 for exactly the same kind of work in northern Oklahoma and $5.00 in the header harvest of central Kansas. He was paid $5.00 in Thomas County, Kansas; went forty miles north into Red Willow County, Nebraska, and found the wage had dropped to $4.00. When he went east across the counties of southern Nebraska, the wage rate declined to $3.50 and $3.00 and remained at those figures in South Dakota. In North Dakota, the prices of labor again were $3.50 and $4.00 with one farm in ten paying $4.50 and $5.00. The harvester could not understand why the same kind of work earned a wage of but $2.50 in Texas and $5.00 in Kansas, or why twenty miles to the south of the imaginary line that separates Kansas from Nebraska he should be paid $5.00 and twenty miles north of it only $4.00. He could undersatnd that a farmer with a poor crop could not afford to pay as high wages as one, with a good crop, but it was apparent that this was not the cause of the wage variations. Wages differed with the area rather than with the individual. He was also puzzled by the evident fact that the wage varied sharply from one section of a single state to another and even in different sections of the same county. He found in almost every section he visited that the wage paid on different farms in the same neighborhood was not the same.

The matter is just as puzzling from the farmer's point of view. The Kansas farmer complains of paying more for harvest labor than the Oklahoman or the North Dakotan. The North Dakota farmer is irritated because "the Kansas farmer spoils the wage market by offering exorbitant wages." He believes that he pays ten or fifteen cents an hour more for labor than he would have to pay if the Kansas rate were not so high.

There are only two agencies which have made serious efforts to establish a standard and uniform harvest wage, the farmers' meetings in Kansas and the I. W. W.s in North Dakota. Each year the Kansas farmers have wage meetings, generally one in each of the four corners of the state. The farmers do not meet for the purpose of fixing a low standard wage and forcing it on the laborers, but to discover what wages it will be necessary to offer in order to attract labor from outside of the state to the harvest. If these farmers set a standard wage that is too low, compared with wages in the cities, a labor shortage results, and the competition among the farmers for the few men who come drives the wage to a higher figure than it should have been necessary to pay. This happened in 1919 and again in 1921. The farmer meetings are an effort to discover what wages supply and demand would set in the state if supply and demand had time to work matters out to a logical conclusion. The farmers do not consider the meetings a method of bargaining but a means of establishing a standard wage which will attract enough men to the state. The wages set by the meetings are adhered to by a majority of the farmers, provided they can get enough men at those wages. But even in "standard wage territory" some pay above or below the scale.

In Texas and Oklahoma the demand for labor is slight compared with the demand two or three weeks later in Kansas. On the other hand, the supply of men is large because a great many harvest hands drift into Oklahoma early in June to be on hand when the Kansas harvest opens. Light demand and plentiful supply work in the farmer's favor. Many harvesters look upon the work in Oklahoma as a stop gap to tide them over until the Kansas harvest opens and are glad to earn whatever they can before the "big harvest." Consequently in Texas and Oklahoma harvest wages are always lower than in Kansas.

Eighty-five per cent of the cultivated acreage in much of central and western Kansas is in wheat. Apparently ten million acres of wheat must be cut in the state. The header, with which most of the Kansas grain is cut, requires for its efficient operation a crew of six men. The use of the header creates a stronger demand for labor than occurs where the same acreage is cut with a binder. The fact that the Kansas wheat is planted in the fall and requires no care until the harvest enables most of the farmers to dispense with month hands during the spring months. Consequently, almost all the laborers used in the Kansas harvest, other than the members of the farmer's family, must be hired at harvest time. Since Kansas opens the big harvest the task of attracting harvest labor from other states falls with particular weight upon Kansas. It is the state which must pay harvest wages high enough to attract men away from construction work, oil fields, city industries and the farms of other states.

Once in Kansas, many of the harvest hands are certain to move on into Nebraska and the Dakotas. Meanwhile, other laborers come from Omaha, Des Moines, Sioux City, Chicago, Minneapolis, Duluth, Butte, and hundreds of other towns, and go directly into the northern harvest. Two streams of labor supply are therefore pouring into the northern harvest, one from the winter wheat, the other from the cities. The relations of supply to demand, therefore, vary from those of the southern harvest. The demand for labor is also less intense. The binder harvest is not as dependent upon transient labor as the header harvest. In Nebraska and South Dakota the situation is "easier" from the farmers' point of view, more acute from the harvest hands' point of view, than in either Kansas or North Dakota. Hence the annual cycle of the wage rate follows a course

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HAY acreage in the United States has increased in eight years by three million acres. In crops other than hay there has been a decrease of almost two million acres. Here, as in England, sheep and grass are increasing—the regular signs of reversion of land from agricultural to pastoral use. The American farmer is losing out. And he will continue to lose out as long as the country schools train his sons only for high schools, the high schools train them for colleges, the colleges train them to wear white collars comfortably—and all train them for city life. A striking article, Great Schools in Small Communities, to be published in the September Graphic.

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very similar to that already described as obtaining in 1921. The rate rises to its maximum in central and northwestern Kansas, declines sharply in the Nebraska and South Dakota harvest, and then recovers somewhat in North Dakota, but seldom again equals the Kansas maximums.

The I. W. W.'s are the only organization that has attempted to force up harvest wages through organized effort on the part of the harvest hands. Their efforts have had little effect upon the harvest rates. In 1918 an effort was made to establish an agreement between the I. W. W.s and the Non-Partisan League which would have given the harvester wages higher than those which actually prevailed in the harvest. When drouth in Montana sent thousands of Montana farmers into the Dakota harvest and the apparent shortage of labor in North Dakota was relieved, the North Dakota wage established itself in response to market forces and in defiance of the efforts made to control it. The wage in western North Dakota that year was lower, in comparison with the Red River valley wages, than usual. Here and there the I. W. W.s force up the wages in some locality by persuading the harvesters there not to accept the wages offered, but they have thus far failed to win a higher wage over any large area.

INDIVIDUAL bargaining plays a large part in determining the wages of the individual harvester. There is a good deal of uncertainty as to what the "going wage" is. A farmer comes into Aberdeen. He drops in at the county agricultural agent's office. "I want to get some harvest hands, Jim. What are the wages?" "Most of the farmers are offering 50 cents an hour; some 40 cents; some as high as 60 cents." "Are they getting men at 40 cents?" "John Blake did, but I guess the men are sticking for 60 cents now." He goes down on the street; a merchant tells him that his neighbor hired some men at 50 cents; another neighbor at 55 cents. He talks with the "hands" scattered along the street. Most of them demand 60 cents; some want 70 cents. He has a chance to get an old man and a couple of boys at 50 cents. Finally he offers to take three men at the "going wages" without specifying exactly what he means. The men demur. They dicker. Finally they reach an agreement. No written contract is signed. The hours to be worked, the question whether the farmer is to board the men on rainy days, lodging conditions and other conditions of the job are probably not discussed. The labor contract is vague and indefinite with respect to everything but wages. Sometimes a clear understanding is not reached on that question, the farmer's offer of "going wages" being accepted. One would expect an enormous turnover under such conditions. As a matter of fact, the harvest labor turnover is low except when a considerable number of I. W. W.s are employed. The harvesters find the farmers "pretty decent fellows." The farmers say that "most of the harvest hands are pretty square." Bargaining individually, man to man, and dealing with relatively simple problems, they are generally able to straighten out the difficulties that develop. But not always.

Food and sleeping conditions are as important to the harvester as wages. A man who toils ten or twelve hours under a harvest sun must keep physically fit. Few complaints concerning food are heard during the harvest. The farmers set a bountiful table. In Ellis County, Kansas, where Russian farmers predominate, they pay about a dollar per day more in wages to compensate the men for less satisfactory food. Dissatisfaction with sleeping accommodations is more frequent. On 65 per cent of the farms visited, the harvest hands were provided with beds in the house. Another 6 per cent of the farmers provided bunk houses or tents equipped with beds or cots. But three farms out of each ten slept their harvesters in barns or granaries, in some

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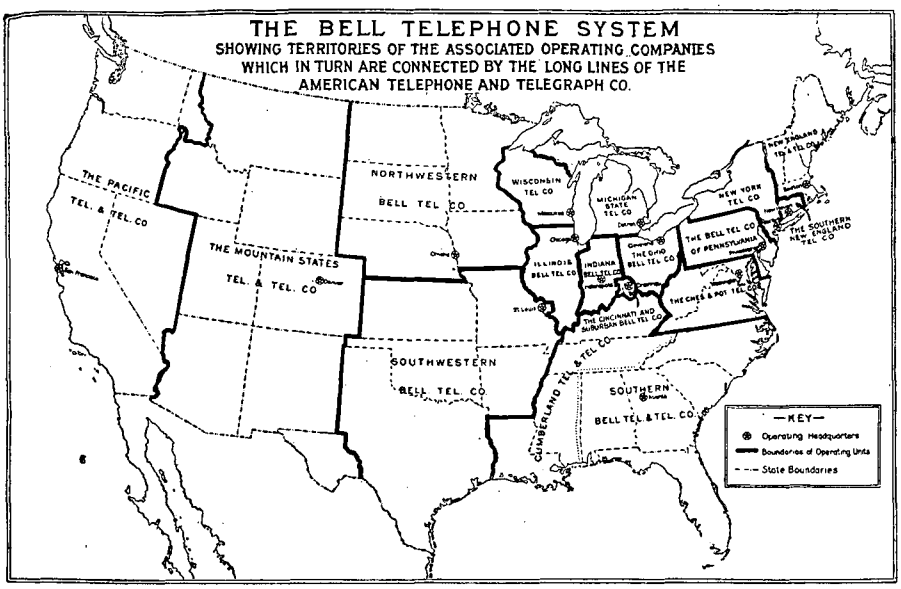
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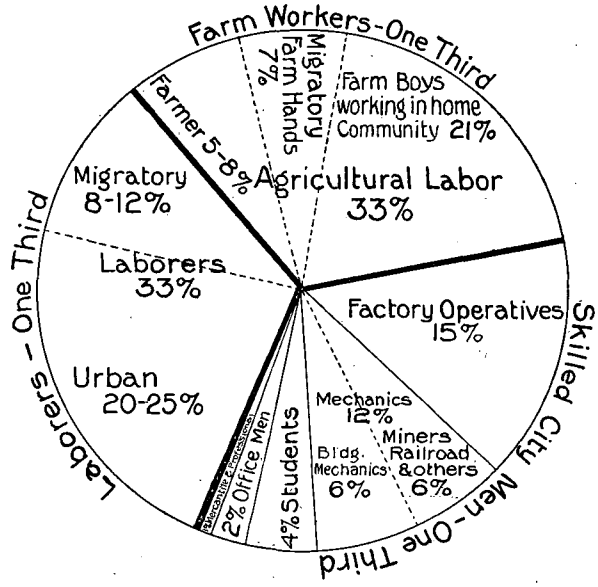
cases not even providing blankets. Industrial workers from the cities do not take kindly to such accommodations. They are accustomed to sleeping in beds. They likewise resent what they sometimes imagine is an imputation of social inferiority. But the farmer's reasons for failing to provide better sleeping arrangements do not arise from either callousness or class distinctions. He hires harvesters for only a few days or a couple of weeks out of the year and hesitates to buy extra sleeping equipment for this short period. He also reflects that the wheat belt has but few mosquitoes to disturb outdoor slumber and the harvest comes during the warm weather. He would not object to sleeping in a haymow or granary himself. The sacrifices the men make seem to him slight; the saving to himself important.

A closely related complaint of the harvesters is of the lack of bathing facilities. Many of the farms lack bathrooms, or hesitate to allow the harvesters to use them. Often no substitute is provided. The farmer who cleans out one of the horses' drinking troughs and fills it with clean water each morning, thus providing a miniature bathing pool, is gratefully remembered by his harvest hands.

In general, labor relations in the winter wheat harvest are characterized by good will on both sides. Most of the harvest hands are men the farmers can respect. The men say that most of the farmers are "white." Hardships and complications are bound to develop both for farmers and men. Some whine, but most of them "take the gaff" like men. The men are in the fields to make money. The farmers must keep down their harvesting costs. But the opposition of financial interest does not make a spirit of friendliness and fair play impossible. Many a farmer said to us, "the men ought to get good wages. They come a long way and the work is unsteady." Many a man said, "the farmer is up against it. Wheat is low and wages are high. I'm satisfied with what they are paying though I won't have much money when I get home."

[*In a second article in the August Survey Graphic Mr. Lescohier will follow the harvest to Iowa, Minnesota, and the Dakotas, as the season and the men move north.* EDITOR]



WHEN THE HARVESTER IS NOT A-HARVESTING

This chart shows the "customary" occupations of 32,000 wheat harvesters: one-third of them gave farm work as their regular job, one-third were laborers, and one-third skilled workers from cities. The percentages are not absolutely accurate, for the relative proportion of harvesters of the several types varies from season to season. Data collected in 1919, 1920 and 1921 indicates that the distribution as given in this chart is substantially correct

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COLORED IMPRESSIONS

(*Continued from page* 392)

primitive, no question about it, but our thoughts have been proved very primitive, too! It is probable that the old servant, with her genuine sensitiveness, combined the feeling of adoration created by the magnificence of the falls with the affection she felt for her mistress. Nobody has ever proved that one who is unable to give adequate words to his feelings is bare of feeling. It is, therefore, not aside from the problem under discussion that I tell this story, but in illustration of it: ill-usage of the body has been replaced by lacerating the feelings. This attitude of intellectual and mental conceit is general. Statistics are given to show the smaller success of colored pupils. Sometimes this judging without a bit of understanding becomes almost sadistic. A very complete test seems to be given by such statistics, for example, in those concerning the public schools of New York where children of black and white races are educated side by side:

> There are constant and important mental differences. The colored groups require from a term to a year longer than do the whites to complete the course, and in every study the whites attain a higher average of scholarship.

This reminds me of the reports that used to be published about the little Poles whom they tried to convert into little Prussians. It is of course not the place here to criticize such statistics in technical detail; the only thing I want to say is that we forget that the schools are decidedly white and western European—their teaching staff as well as their system of education. No wonder that we fit better into our own system!

It was, therefore, interesting to me to visit a colored elementary school at Washington, D. C., the Dunbar School, which has about six thousand pupils. So far as my experience goes with individuals and with general school activities and scholarship, I could not find any basis for the statistics mentioned above. But here the teaching staff as well as the system was preponderatingly colored. Among the white part of the staff was not a single one of those conceited "I-am-above-everybody-here," but they were charming and adaptable personalities with the desire to understand and to develop rather than to command. No wonder, that success was dwelling in that school, for here was education, essentially the inner development of human potentialities, as the French say. It cannot be expected that education in this sense will prove a success until it is given by Negro teachers who have the courage to bring out their individual personality as well as to gain a higher development of their racial idiosyncrasy, whether acknowledged by the whites or not.

But, if there is something on our part which I call spiritual insolence, there remains an argument that must not be undervalued. The Negroes, for reason of their sexual immorality, we are told, are constantly and rapidly increasing in number. But who is responsible for the rapid growth of the so-called "Negro" population? Pure-blooded Negroes are swiftly drifting away. Meanwhile the mulatto population is increasing. Now, if it comes to mulattos, Negroes are without question not solely responsible for their increase. When the biological and sexual instincts for higher development and racial purity are ceasing in a race, you will almost always find through human history, that mixture with other racial elements is inevitable. But, say some, their intermixture is coming from the worst elements of our race. That may be so, although I have got a different impression from my talk with many Southerners, but even if it be so our race must be held responsible for its own rubbish.

Limitation and determination of the entire problem seems to me to be in our own hands. The question is whether we believe in our racial strength and therefore refuse to blend

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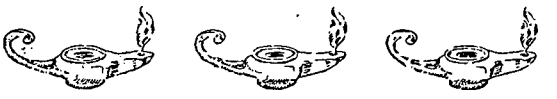

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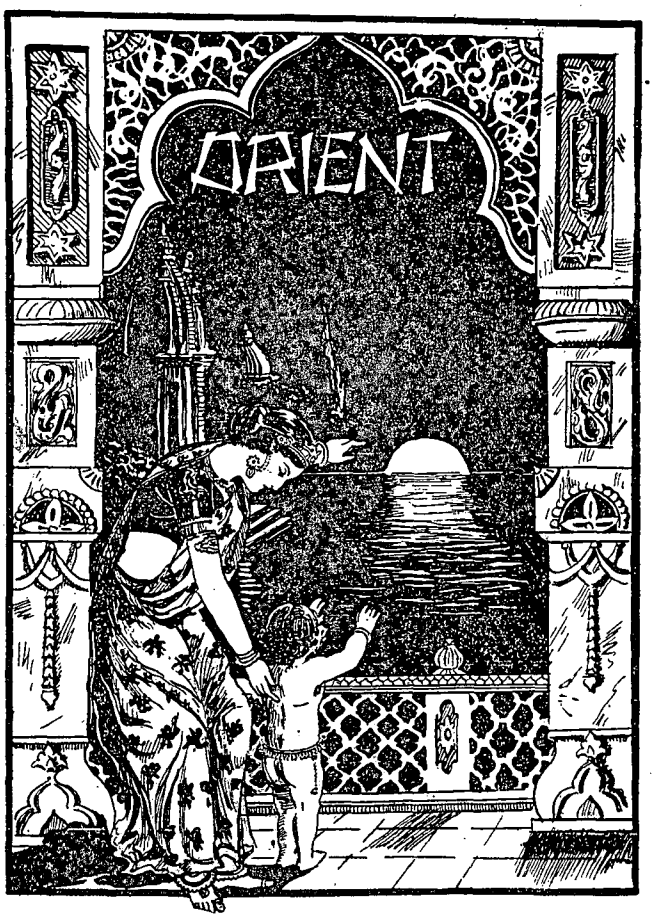

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it or whether we do not. Then blending is inevitable. Whether we believe in our own spiritual strength and therefore can give the other fellow a fair chance to develop himself according to his potentialities, or whether we do not dare it. Whether we feel ourselves perfectly healthy and can live among different people without having to be afraid of losing ourselves, or whether we need artificial walls to protect us against temptations which prove our weakness, and which would not exist, were we healthy: It is a question which depends entirely upon our own self-respect and self-confidence.

I feel the deepest responsibility for keeping our race up to the highest standard imaginable. If we do believe in the goodness of human nature we will work towards better spiritual conditions of the colored people. Respecting the Negro as a spiritual being of unpredictable potentialities and as a creature of God, I hope that we shall give him the opportunities he longs for and which are his right; that means education, higher education, highest education.

Anticipation and Reality

By ANTONIN R. PALEČEK

MANY people in America have asked me: "How do your experiences compare with what you thought of America before you came here?"

Very few Europeans are able to give a satisfactory answer. The landing in New York, the introduction into the American life and customs are impressions captivating all our thinking to such an extent that two or three weeks go by before we mentally emerge from this new atmosphere to compare imagination with reality. In most cases, then, these strenuous two weeks have nearly wiped out our dreams, and just a few outstanding facts remain.

So I remember that I did not know the mechanism of the American latches at the doors, which made me think at nine in the morning when I was trying to enter a cafeteria that the people were yet sleeping. The complicated breakfast, the grape-fruit, shredded wheat, etc., were a surprise for my European mind and palate. And the tiny, yellow, flat, house-door key, tickling me as it lay in my pocket, seemed to me a plaything beside our cumbersome medieval keys. The drugstore carrying stamps and suspenders, the simultaneous shaving and shoe-shining process, were all novelties.

One of the troubles which embittered my life in America, a cause of two weeks of infirmity, was the heating system. I never got accustomed to it; and later, when my job in the American colleges began, I had a bitter fight with the Negro waiters in the Pullman cars every three days. These congenial fellows, coming from Africa, were naturally less susceptible to the effects of radiators. They imposed their standards of heat on the white population obliged to ride in the cars.

It did not take me a long time to discover one of the keystones of the American civilization: Liberty. The subject of this liberty, however, was not a man but a squirrel. The American squirrel, besides being grey while ours is red, enjoys a very high degree of liberty, a status not yet fully recognized by our younger generation.

I did not come to America unprepared. The sources of my informations were four: The Saturday Evening Post, the American movies, my countrymen who had lived in America, and "real" Americans.

I never was able to read a whole story in the Saturday Evening Post—great as was my perseverance in the study of English and admiration for America. All, or nearly all, of these stories make on me the same impression as the colored funny section of the daily papers. They find me, with my best will, irresponsive, perplexed, missing a link, a new dimension.

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It is dangerous to take any information about America from those who were there before the war. Thus one of my local advisers stated to me on one occasion that one thing which I would not find in America was good roads. Alas, he forgot to tell me that he was in this country some twenty years ago, before the age of motor cars.

Will you consult a real American about the conditions in his own country? Or will you simply take him as a specimen citizen of the New World and generalize? I do not think I got a right idea of America even from Americans staying temporarily in my country. They are there either as visitors, and then they are in Karlsbad, Prague, or Slovakia, or as business men, or organizing Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., Junior Red Cross, Student Relief Fund, or working in other ways for the brotherhood of nations and peace on earth.

I had met mostly people from this last group. Everybody in my country will tell you something about them. They founded the Students Home in Prague, which has today a membership of some six thousand students of seventeen nationalities. Of the American institutions they introduced cafeteria, volley-ball, basket-ball—and cocoa. There were some efforts to implant base-ball and yelling, without, however, any tangible success. Today, together with the Czecho-Slovak government, they are endeavoring to keep alive four thousand Russian students, refugees.

These representatives of American charity are good-natured, polite, smiling, ready to help and busy-looking, "regular guys." Christians, pacifists, they are always very cautious and respectful when talking about our institutions. At the first approach, they seem to us naïve, shy and inoffensive, and as such everybody likes them.

There certainly is nothing repulsive in this type of man; and yet very few young Europeans I met in America were in any way satisfied with what they found here. They liked Americans as individuals but were afraid of their society.

"Why do they make so much noise?" says one. "Why so much shouting, yelling, hazing?" "I hate their social activities," says a girl. In vain you try to explain the beneficent influence of social activities upon the moral qualities of the students. "I understand," she will answer, "but there is too much of it here!"

"You must introduce in the colleges of Europe this wonderful spirit of competition," said one eminent American professor to me. "It breeds chivalry, perseverance and respect for your opponent, modesty, quickness of decision and a not-too-serious conception of life."

There was much talk in my country in the post-war period about "Americanizing" ourselves—the popular meaning of this term being to do a thing quietly without talking too much about it. Get'm and do'm! Today we do not talk about it any more; not because we are already "Americanized," neither because we consider the American conception of the universe and life an imperfect or unsound one, but because we believe that our nation, too, has its own conception of life, its way of looking upon the world, its ideals, its mission. However imperfect our life may be, how little up to modern standards or ideals of humanity, we believe that if we be "loyal to the royal" in our nation, and only so, we shall be as perfect as any other nation. No, we must discard these words "superior" and "inferior" which I heard so often from American audiences, when I happened to criticize our own or American institutions. They may be good for a standardized world, in business, politics, hygiene, spreading of education (or knowledge, still better: information) or other forms of life which the twentieth century world may happen to assume. The happiness of an individual or of a nation must not be confounded with them, if that individual or that nation is a living one that is able to assume different forms without affecting the substance.

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A SPIRITUAL BIOGRAPH

(*Continued from page* 385)

give full manual occupation to a crippled man but which involved the constructive use of a good mind. He thought he was constructing a new farm in Kansas; he was also constructing a new man.

With this went the study of medicine. For he was wholly a self-made doctor. It requires little imagination to estimate the intellectual effort required to make a successful physician without an apprenticeship and without the slightest training in medical school. We may admit that his accomplishment would not stand high, tested by modern professional standards, but we should not forget that he rendered a great service in his community and in doing so re-established himself firmly in his new world—externally in Kansas, internally in another world equally new and more significant.

When we moved to central Kansas in 1871, the germs of civic life were hardly discernible. A very sketchy county government was just in process of organization. The state government had no representative on the ground; there was not even a member of the legislature in that whole country. A post office in a corner of a general store with one mail a week to the railroad forty miles away was the whole of the federal government service. But the pioneers soon made for themselves whatever social and political organization they required, and in this constructive work my father engaged with enthusiasm. He served as justice of the peace, probate judge and county commissioner, but repeatedly refused a seat in the state legislature. He helped build the first church and the schoolhouse and led in the formation of a "literary society" and a circulating library. These activities meant much to the community, but they meant more to him, for in them he was building solidly a new life and a new character in place of those so passionately renounced.

I HAVE tried here to sketch the story of one typical man —a typical soldier of the Civil War—yet a type endlessly reproduced in our more recent war. My father's life, which I so long failed to understand, seems completely explained in the light of recent experience.

For two hectic years his grandson served at the front and in the hardest fighting in France; meanwhile his son (myself) for a year and a half wore the army uniform and went through the same experiences, all but the furnace of the battle-front. When the two of us got home and tried once more to orient ourselves, we realized how completely we had broken with the old ante-bellum world and how urgent was the demand within us for a new world where a new life could be begun. All about us, too, were our comrades, old friends and new, crying from the bottom of their souls for a like opportunity to forget and to begin again. This is unquestionably the clue to my father's experience, as I interpret it.

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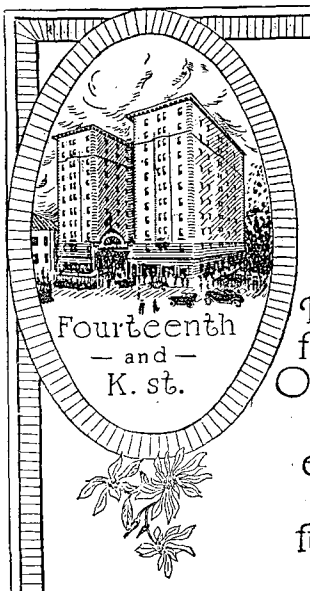

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HERMAN V. YEAGER, Mgr.

The Homestead BAILEY ISLAND, MAINE.
June 15—Sept. 15. For people of refinement. A few openings available for new guests.

Keene Valley Inn, Keene Valley N. Y. Adirondack Mountains.
Rates $18 to $30 per week. 75 rooms. Fresh vegetables, own garden. Tennis, dancing, golf course 2 miles. W. W. BLOCK, Prop.

THE MAPLES Stockbridge, Massachusetts. In Berkshires. Homelike, comfortable house. Table excellent, fresh vegetables, milk, cream, eggs. Terms on application.

THE LLOYD. On Great South Bay. Exceptional location and house. Cool, comfortable, charming. Sports, sailing, bathing, fishing, golf, tennis, motoring. Address The Lloyd, Bellport, L. I.

COUNTRY HOME

MOUNTAINVILLE, NEW YORK
Housekeeping apartment, four rooms and bath, screened porch, in remodelled farmhouse. Separate entrance, one flight. Fine view, bathing. Box 95, Mountainville, New York.

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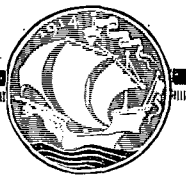

A Straw Vote of Liberals

Liberals, what do you want? By answering that question you will be integrating the American liberal movement at the strategic hour. Both old parties are intellectually bankrupt, twin ghosts, empty of meaning, devoid of conviction—the outs and the ins. Somebody, some day, is going to blow them into new life—or into smithereens. But a party that means something is most certainly coming. Will it be a liberal party? It is for you to say. Your potential power is out of all proportion to your numbers, the greatest of any single group in America—and the most frequently and needlessly dissipated. Help to find out where the liberals stand, upon what they can agree. Fill out and mail this ballot today. We are counting on 100% response from the readers of The Survey.

Cut out here and mail to
The Straw Vote Editor → The New REPUBLIC
421 West 21st Street
New York City

[*This advertisement is being inserted throughout the liberal press. Results to be announced from week to week in The New Republic.*]

THE LIBERAL STRAW BALLOT

1. Do you favor joining the League (a) as now constituted?....., (b) with reservations?..... or (c) are you definitely opposed?.....
   (Yes or no) (Yes or no) (Yes or no)
2. Are you more sympathetic toward the League than in 1920, or less?.....
   (More — less)
3. Do you favor the idea of a third party in the field for 1924?..... If so, whom would you select to head the ticket?.....
   (Yes or no) (Name of candidate)
4. Of the presidential possibilities now being discussed, which one would you be most likely to vote for if he were nominated by any of the existing parties?.....
   (Name of candidate)
5. Do you favor public ownership of (a) mines?....., (b) railroads?.....
   (Yes or no) (Yes or no)

NOTE: To insure accuracy and prevent any possibility of duplication ballots must be signed (with address) and mailed to The Straw Vote Editor, The New Republic, 421 West 21st Street, New York City. A letter of explanation or comment would be welcome. Also names of other liberals to whom ballots may be sent. ¶ This ballot is secret—your opinions are confidential and will not be quoted.

.....
(Your signature)

.....
(Address in full)

..... S.G.7-1-23

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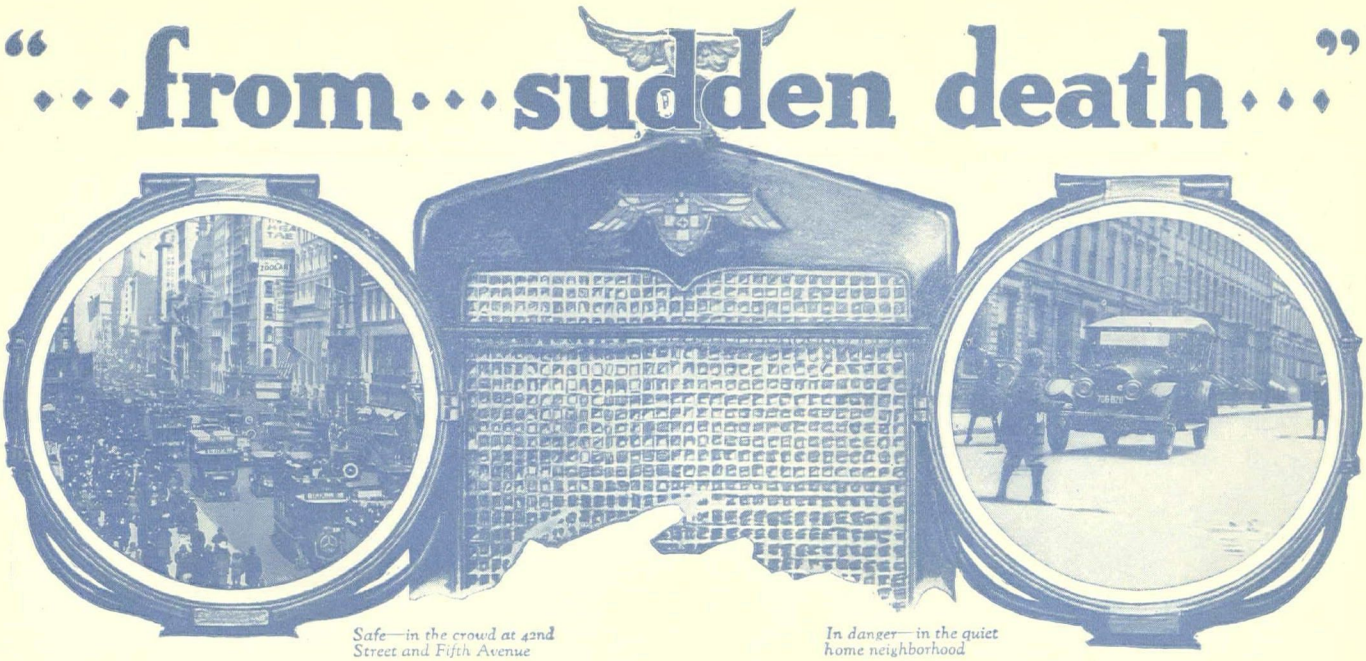
"...from...sudden death..."



Safe—in the crowd at 42nd Street and Fifth Avenue

In danger—in the quiet home neighborhood

The Titanic Sank—and a world was stunned with the horror of it.

The Lusitania was torpedoed — people who were apathetic before said: "We *won't* stand it!"

The Iroquois Theatre burned in Chicago—and laws were passed all over the country forcing theatres to install asbestos curtains.

The Knickerbocker Theatre collapsed in Washington—there was immediate Government investigation.

The Galveston flood—and millions were spent for a great sea wall.

Because these disasters were spectacular—because great numbers of people died by accident *at one time*—the shock stirred the soul of the nation.

And yet, *added together*, the total deaths from these never-to-be-forgotten tragedies—plus three more that the world will always remember, the terrible Johnstown Flood, the burning of the Slocum and the San Francisco fire, were less than the number of persons killed last year in the United States by automobiles.

14,000 Killed in 1922

The great majority of these fatalities occurred in large cities; 60% in home neighborhoods — on the "side streets"—and most tragic of all, one-third of them were little children.

"Danger Zones" Safest

On 5th Avenue, New York, between 14th and 59th Streets, where traffic is governed by the Tower System, not a single death was reported by the police in 1922. At 42d Street and 5th Avenue, one of the busiest corners in the world, you and your children are safer than on your own street.

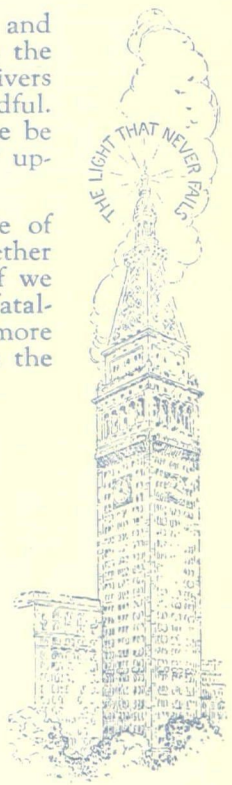
But at *this* corner policemen rigidly enforce wise traffic laws and *compel* people to take care of themselves.

Accidents happen in the flash of an eye. Caution is constantly necessary. Where you think you are safe—in some quiet street—danger is most likely to strike you.

Be Your Own Policeman

At unguarded corners pedestrians and automobilists have equal rights on the roadway. Both must use caution. Drivers must be watchful and walkers heedful. Not only must our safety conscience be awake downtown, but also on our uptown streets.

If we wish to stop this rising tide of accidental death, all must work together and obey the rules of the road. If we do not, the number of automobile fatalities may reach 15,000 this year and more thereafter as added machines take the road.



In 1922, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company disbursed over $867,000 in automobile death claims. In the same year it disbursed a total of $4,753,000 for all accidents.

These insurance policies represented a wise investment—necessary life insurance. But something beyond a payment for deaths is necessary. We need and must have better protection against preventable accidents.

We must insist that drunken or careless drivers be punished. We must use the most extreme caution ourselves. We must help the careless and protect the absent-minded. The small child does not *know* the danger of the street. Here the *automobilist* must take the responsibility. The younger the child, the greater the driver's need for care.

Safe play places must be provided for the children; isles of safety, for the pedestrian; traffic signs and beacons, which will make the careless heedful.

Last year about 19,000 fatalities were recorded in the United States which occurred in or about the home—burns, falls from step-ladders, chairs, stairs, etc. We must carry always in mind that where danger is most apparent, it can be most intelligently guarded against and that where we *seem* to be safest carelessness may carry a heavy penalty.

The Metropolitan will be glad to send its own information on automobile accidents, as well as "The Trend of Public Accidents", published by the National Safety Council, to any one who wants to help in the conservation of life.

HALEY FISKE, *President*

Published by

METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY—NEW YORK

Biggest in the World, More Assets, More Policyholders, More Insurance in force, More new Insurance each year

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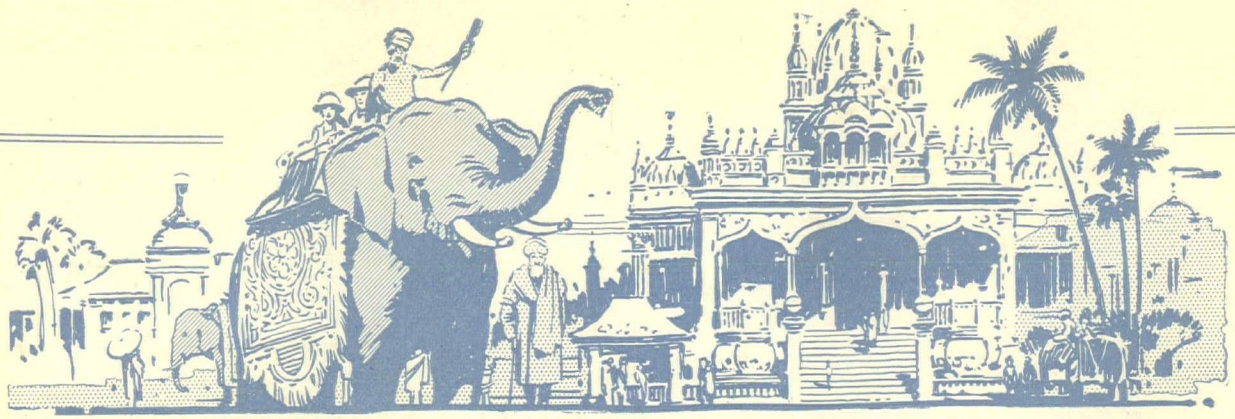
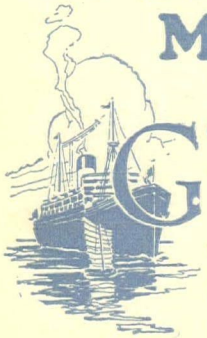


Cruising 'Round the World

Make the Dream Come True



GOING Around the World is more or less of a dream to most people. Everybody has it. Everybody expects it to come true some day. But the idea is so full of the unknown, so imaginary, so adventurous, so wonderful, that to most people it remains a dream.

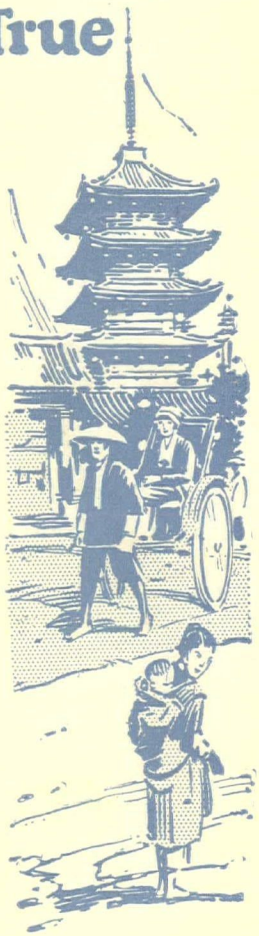
Make the dream come true.

Under the experienced management of the American Express Travel Department a cruise around the world is a very practical possibility—easily arranged, easily financed. It is the most *real*, the most stimulating, the most luxurious experience of a lifetime.

It is so easy to make the dream come true.

Consider the coming Cruise of the Cunarder FRANCONIA. Built especially for long distance cruising, and just launched, the FRANCONIA is the last word in modern ship construction. Safe and speedy—a floating palace of luxurious recreation—a fine and comfortable club with every convenience and refinement suggested by 80 years of Cunard experience—and with perfect management and ship discipline at sea.

Under charter of the American Express Travel Department, the FRANCONIA sails from New York November 15th—returning March 27th. 30,000 wonder miles leisurely covered in 133 never-to-be-forgotten days. Carefully planned shore excursions from all ports of call included in initial cost. Special inland trips optional. Itinerary includes—*Havana, Panama Canal, San Francisco, Hilo, Honolulu, Japan (13 days—Yokohama, Kamakura, Tokyo, Kobe, Kyoto, Nikko, Inland Sea, Miyajima), Shanghai, Hongkong, Manila, Batavia, Singapore, Rangoon, Calcutta, Colombo, Bombay, Port Tewfik, Cairo, Naples, Monaco, Gibraltar—and home.*



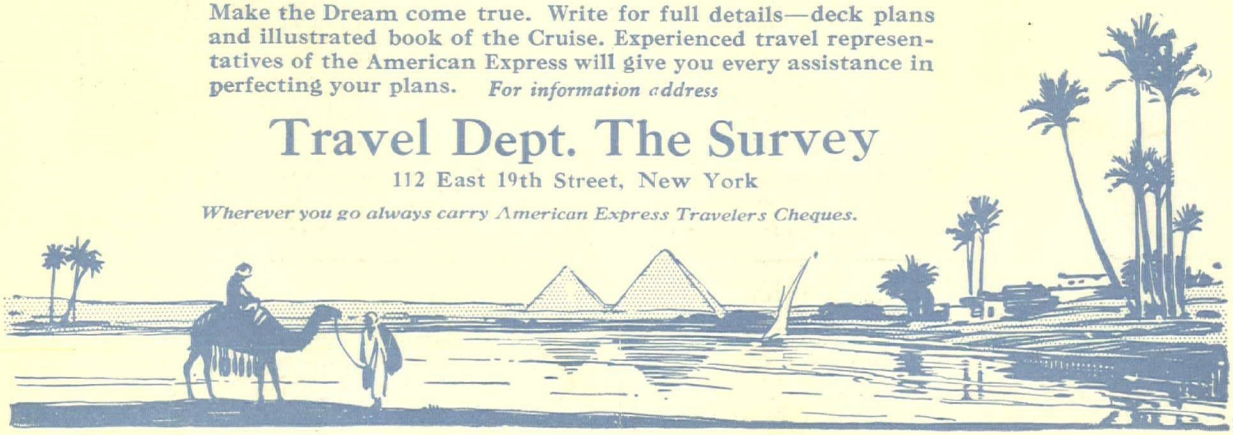
The Franconia Party will be limited. *Reservations should be made now.* Interest in World Cruising has been so stimulated by the success of last year's American Express' World Cruise that an early closing of bookings is indicated.

Make the Dream come true. Write for full details—deck plans and illustrated book of the Cruise. Experienced travel representatives of the American Express will give you every assistance in perfecting your plans. *For information address*

Travel Dept. The Survey

112 East 19th Street, New York

Wherever you go always carry American Express Travelers Cheques.



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